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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

ZAGLADIN ON PRESENT STATE OF MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Professor V. Zagladin, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Mass Democratic Movements in the Modern World"]

[Text] The world is literally seething. Mass democratic movements of various kinds are becoming more and more widespread, active and influential. This situation is noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program. But with what are such movements associated and what causes their emergence and dynamic development?

Open up any newspaper and you will undoubtedly see reports about new actions by members of an anti-war movement in some part of the planet. And next to them you will find information on demonstrations against violations of democracy in the Capitalist countries and against unemployment and racial discrimination. More and more often actions by advocates of environmental protection are also reported. Every day there is also news about actions of solidarity with the peoples of the liberated countries, which are lagging in their economic development as a result of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In his day Lenin already noted that imperialism, by extending and intensifying the main social antagonism of Capitalism -- between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat -- at the same time gives rise to a new and most profound contradiction between the monopolies and the laboring masses, and the people as a whole. The unendurable burden of the economic yoke of monopoly capital is heaped on all laboring strata and even on a substantial portion of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. The suppression of democracy and tendency toward reaction inherent to the monopolies leads all along the line to flagrant violation of the rights of the overwhelming majority of the population. Pitiless oppression of small and weak peoples, whether in colonies, dependent countries or in the largest imperialist states, creates centers of constant tension, and contradictions which are unavoidable based on imperialist rule. Finally, the threat of militarism and wars created by imperialism, including world wars, engenders the sharpest contradictions between it and the popular masses of all countries, which fervently desire peace.

All of these contradictions or, more accurately, this contradiction between the monopolies and the popular masses, back at the beginning of this century

caused social movements of a democratic, and essentially an anti-monopolistic and anti-imperialist type. Some of them were anti-war (often pacifist) in nature; others were national liberation movements; still others pursued the aim of protecting particular democratic rights and freedoms. V. I. Lenin attentively studied all of these movements. He considered it necessary to take into account in politics "this objective truth of the ill assorted, discordant, motley and outwardly splintered mass struggle" (Complete Works, Vol 30, p 55).

During the time which has passed since then the contradictions resulting from monopoly rule increased substantially. They all acquired new depth as well as substantial acuity. This is particularly true of the last quarter century.

In our day this is a matter most of all of the contradiction between the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and growing militarism, and the danger of a new world war which it gives rise to, and the strengthening aspiration of the masses to peace and to protecting the first human right -- the right to life. New military equipment -- nuclear missiles and now also space weapons -- is of such a nature that war, if it breaks out, could lead in the words of Lenin, to undermining the very conditions of human existence. It is natural that the popular masses of all countries decisively rise up against the military danger and the policy of the aggressive, reactionary forces of imperialism which gives rise to it.

In our day the anti-war movement has become a weighty factor in international life, which no one can ignore. It is truly unique, both in scale and breadth, as well as in the resoluteness of the demands which it advances. Today these are first of all demands to prevent the militarization of space, radically reduce nuclear weapons and ban and destroy chemical weapons.

Movements of solidarity with peoples who are defending their freedom and independence have also taken on an unprecedented widespread nature. They arose as a natural reaction of the masses to the policy of arbitrariness, forceful pressure, undeclared wars and open interventions conducted by imperialism, most of all American imperialism. This is a graphic manifestation of the contradiction between the aspiration of the peoples toward freedom and toward an independent choice of the paths of their development and the policy of imperialist forces of retarding social progress in every possible way.

Thus the peoples not only of Latin America, but also of Europe and other continents are demanding a halt to the "undeclared war" by the U. S. against Nicaragua. Social actions in solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, who are struggling against the last colonial and racist regime reigning in the Republic of South Africa, are more and more effective. And can one underestimate the campaign and support of the struggle by the peoples of the Arab East, who have been waging a battle for many years against Israeli aggression, which is supported by Washington? Anti-imperialist solidarity has become a marked and ever more weighty element of the modern system of international relations.

Along with this a truly universal movement is developing for the establishment of a new world economic order. It convincingly reflects the aspiration of the peoples to be done with the shameless robbery of former colonial and dependent (and now even some developed Capitalist) countries by the imperialist monopolies. Recently the problem of indebtedness of the liberated countries has become particularly acute. This indebtedness has become, as noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program, one of the important channels of their exploitation by imperialism.

Ecological movements; i.e., movements to protect the environment, have also become an integral part of the political landscape of the Capitalist world. This is an outward manifestation of the contradiction between the predatory relations of the monopolies toward the use of natural resources and nature in general, and the desire of the people to protect their tomorrow and restore harmonious relations between nature and mankind.

In many countries ecological movements, which arose spontaneously, are becoming a mass foundation of political parties and organizations. Their activity is becoming ever more closely associated with the anti-war struggle, as well as with the struggle for a new world economic order.

The reactionary policy of the monopolies and their shameless suppression of the rights of the workers, most of all those of women and young people, and national inequality, chauvinism and racism, are sharply exacerbating the domestic political situation in many Western countries. A most profound conflict is evident between, in the words of Lenin, the monopolies which negate democracy and the masses which are striving for democracy.

In other words, the contradiction between monopolies and all the people, which was discovered by Lenin, is in our day becoming international in nature. It is becoming a contradiction between the monopolies and the interests of all mankind; between imperialism and the peoples of all continents. This contradiction unites within itself class, social and general democratic and humanitarian elements. This is the reason for the development of mass democratic movements, not only within individual countries, but also on an international scale; movements which are widespread in nature and in which representatives of virtually classes and social groups participate.

Understandably, far from all of the participants in these movements have clear social reference points. The working class and its political vanguard, participating in these movements, naturally link the struggle for general democratic and general human goals with its class tasks. Other participants are far from the ideals of Socialism or even from an understanding of the class roots of the phenomena against which they are acting. But irrespective of this, objectively they are struggling precisely against imperialism and against those aspects of its policy which are most inhuman and which most contradict the interests of the peoples. They thereby become in fact active participants in the struggle for social progress.

A fundamentally new stage in the history of mankind began at the moment of victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The transition of all mankind from Capitalism to Socialism began. V. I. Lenin foresaw that this

transition would unite the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the Capitalist countries "and a large number of democratic and revolutionary, including national liberation movements..." (Complete Works, Vol 30, p 112). In another place he wrote that this would be an era "of a large number of battles on all fronts; i.e., on all economic, political and national questions. Resolving the sum of the conflicts which arise from all of these unresolved questions will also bring social revolution" (Complete Works, Vol 54, p 464). This prognosis of Lenin's is now more and more obviously being confirmed by life.

"A characteristic feature of our day," it is noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program, "is the increase in mass democratic movements in non-Socialist countries... These movements are objectively directed against the policy of reactionary Capitalist circles, and are merging into a common stream of struggle for social progress." In other words, they have become an important element of the forces of social progress in our era.

Something else is also noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program. It states there that the guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a peaceful, free and happy life will become real if found not only in the steady increase in the forces of social progress, but also in their interaction. Such interaction of these forces -- world Socialism, the workers and communist movement, the peoples of the liberated countries and mass democratic movements -- is possible. All are united by common interests -- the interest of struggling for peace, democracy and social progress; i.e., the struggle against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression.

Objectively, this interaction is already taking place today. It manifests itself in the definite parallelism in the actions of these forces and in the similarity of the slogans which they advance. At the same time it must be seen that there also exist real ideological and political differences between various participants in mass democratic movements. They have contradictory views on other participants in the front for peace and social progress, including anti-Socialist frames of mind. In and of itself this is completely understandable, since, as was already stated, the composition of democratic movements is unprecedented in its breadth. This breadth is a fact of great positive importance. As Lenin noted in his day it is precisely the "differing timing, differing nature and differing locations" of individual actions "which vouches for the breadth and depth of the overall movement" (Complete Works, Vol 30 p 56).

However, it is understandable that at the same time the differing characters and natures of these actions cannot but also engender difficulties in coordinating their actions. Here active and consistent work and purposeful efforts are required.

Such efforts are being made by our party, and simultaneously by all other political and social forces which are aware of the seriousness of the present situation and the importance of united actions by all persons struggling for peace and social progress.



The depth of the contradictions of present world development reflects the essence of imperialism as a reactionary and retrograde social system and, at the same time, the nature of our era -- the era of the transition of mankind from Capitalism to Socialism. These contradictions will unavoidably cause further development of existing, and the emergence of new, powerful mass general democratic movements. They will thereby strengthen the potential for social progress and the opportunities for those struggling for a peaceful life for all peoples, free of external pressure and interference.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

BULGARIAN, GDR 1986 ECONOMIC PLANS

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, Jan 86 p 20

[Unsigned Article: "CEMA Country Plans for 1986"]

[Text] At the end of last year sessions of the highest legislative organs were held in the countries of the Socialist community. The plan for social and economic development and the state budgets for 1986, the first year of the new five-year plans, were examined and adopted. The plans provided for an all-round increase in economic intensification; improved economic structure; greater production efficiency and acceleration of scientific and technological progress. A great deal of attention is being paid to expanding and extending Socialist economic integration and to implementing the decisions of the CEMA Economic Summit Conference and the sessions of the Council.

Information is published below on the 1986 economic plans of the NRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria] and the GDR.

BULGARIA

The unified plan for social and economic development of the NRB for 1986 provides for a 4 percent increase in national income, with all of this growth the result of intensive factors. The productivity of social labor is to increase by 4.5 percent. The plan sets the objective of substantially reducing expenditures of raw materials, materials, energy resources and electric power for producing a unit of national income and of improving the use of production capacities. The ratio between accumulation and consumption in national income will be 21:79 (in 1985 it was 18:82).

The overall volume of capital investments in 1986 will reach 9.15 billion leva. Of them more than 7 billion are for material production and more than 7 billion for the nonproduction sphere. It is planned that fixed capital construction will be completed and placed in operation having a value greater than 9.5 billion leva. It is planned that profit per 100 leva of fixed production funds will increase to 8 leva as opposed to 6.8 leva in 1985.

The volume of industrial production will increase 4.5 percent during the year. Progressive structural advances will be realized. Output of machine building products will increase 9.2 percent and that of electronics 11.3 percent, while output of microelectronics will increase 40 percent. Above average rates of increase have been set for production of computer and file organization equipment, robotics, automation equipment, flexible automated systems and metal working machine tools.

A 5.4 percent increase is planned in chemical industry production. Production of electric power must increase 6.8 percent during the year. Accelerated development of new nuclear power capacities is planned.

The volume of agricultural production will increase 7.4 percent by comparison with 1985. Necessary conditions are being created for production of 9 million tons of grain per year.

The volume of construction and installation work must increase by 3.2 percent. The transport system and communications system will be further developed.

A further increase in national well-being is planned. Real per capita incomes will grow by 2 percent. The average monthly wage will reach 220 leva and the average monthly pension will reach 99 leva. Public consumption funds will comprise 915 leva per capita. A 9 percent increase in the quantity of domestic services is outlined for the year. A 4.5 percent increase in retail trade exchange is planned (in comparable prices). Construction of 57,400 new apartments is outlined.

The republic's foreign trade exchange will increase 5 percent. The structure of exports will be improved. The share of machinery and equipment will exceed 58 percent. In 1986 approximately 82 percent of NRB trade exchange will be with the Socialist countries.

As before, all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries will play the leading role in NRB foreign economic ties.

#### GDR

The economic plan of the German Democratic Republic for 1986 outlined a 4.4 percent increase in produced national income and a 4.3 percent increase in industrial production volume in centrally subordinated enterprises, with an 8.5 percent increase in net production. Most of the increase in industrial production, as in previous years, is planned to be attained through improving labor productivity, the level of which in industry must increase 8.1 percent (based on net production).

Those branches which govern scientific and technological progress will develop at the highest rates. By comparison with 1985, output of machine building products will increase 10 percent; the electronics and electrical equipment industry by 13.2 percent overall; agricultural and transport machine building by 10.1 percent; and the chemical industry by 9.3 percent.

Science and technology are called upon to make the decisive contribution to achieving these goals. It is planned that 11.6 billion marks will be spent on their development, 10.6 percent more than last year. Implementation of measures to accelerate scientific and technological progress must permit a savings of 507.5 million work hours; increase the output of goods with the highest mark of quality by 13.7 percent; and reduce production consumption calculated per unit of national income by 2.2 percent. It is planned that proportionate expenditures on energy will be reduced 3.5 percent, the consumption of rolled steel and machine building by 7.2 percent; and that of cement in construction by 5 percent. Production costs calculated per 100 marks of industrial commodity production will decline 2.2 percent.

The majority of capital investments are for modernization and redesign of existing enterprises. The number of industrial robots used in the economy will increase by 13,000. The utilization factor for production equipment in the processing industry will be 17 hours per day.

Major tasks are posed to agricultural workers. Production of plant products (in standard grain units) is to increase up to 47.8 centners per hectare of arable land, which is 1.5 centners more than the level provided for by the 1985 plan. The grain harvest will reach 10.9 million tons with a yield of 43 centners per hectare.

A broad program of measures to raise further the people's well-being is outlined. Construction and modernization of 209,200 apartments is planned. The net income of the population and the retail trade volume will increase 4 percent. Production of new types of consumer goods will increase 6.8 percent.

Foreign economic ties will have a significant role in solving basic economic tasks. The country's foreign trade exchange will increase 5 percent. The plan emphasizes that one of the decisive conditions for stable and dynamic development of the GDR economy is further extending economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the USSR and the other Socialist countries.

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27 March 1986

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

## DISCUSSION OF CEMA DIRECT TIES

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, Dec 85 p 20

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences O. Bakovetskiy, senior scientific associate, International Institute of Economic Problems of the CEMA World Socialist System: "Direct Ties: Experience and Prospects"]

[Text] At the present stage of socialist economic integration, CEMA member countries are paying special attention to deepening of specialization and cooperation of production and establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organizations. The Moscow Economic Conference of CEMA Member Countries at the Highest Level defined a clear-cut policy for their development.

Direct ties provide first of all a means of organization and operation of cooperation (primarily intersectorial) at the level of economic organizations. Their characteristic feature is the direct unification of scientific and production activity of enterprises and organizations for the purpose of carrying out a unified program of production and technical improvement of products, joint development of new equipment and technology, cooperation in the field of sale of cooperative products and their postsale servicing. They are established as a rule between partners who produce technically and technologically similar products and have approximately the same level of labor and production organization.

## Cooperative Collaboration

The policy of developing direct stable technologically caused and plan-regulated cooperative ties makes it possible to unite the scientific and production apparatuses of countries of the socialist community on the basis of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, to sharply accelerate the introduction of advanced equipment and technology and to ensure a concentrated and rational utilization of all kinds of resources.

Cooperative collaboration has been developing for some years. It was established in diverse forms in many sectors, first of all in machine building and the chemical, electrical-equipment and electronic industries. Specifically, the collectives of such large enterprises of CEMA countries as the Vasil Kolarov Plant (Bulgaria), (Gants) Association (Hungary),

(Zaksenverke) Combine, (Dolmel) Enterprise (Poland), (Elektroputere) (Romania), Elektrosila Association (USSR) and the Skoda concern (Czechoslovakia) have become involved in direct cooperative collaboration in creation of the latest products of electrical engineering.

Cooperative ties are being developed very effectively between Odessa Production Association imeni Yanvarskoye Vosstaniye and the Polish Dabendy Plant for production of cranes with a high lifting capacity, between Kharkov Tractor Plant and a tractor enterprise in the city of Karlovo (Bulgaria) in construction and development of the DT-54V tractor and its modification and in cooperation of Czechoslovak Skoda Enterprise with Soviet scientific and production organizations in production of equipment for atomic electric power stations and rolling-mill equipment. This makes it possible for them to better coordinate their work, to save time and money on scientific-research and experimental-design development, to better utilize engineering ideas and to attain high qualitative indicators. For example, the (Petkus) (GDR) and Voronezhzhernomash (USSR) enterprises have an identical production profile--production of grain-cleaning machines and lines. Uniting their efforts on the basis of direct ties, they have created the K 05-05 grain-cleaning and drying line, consisting of 15 machines. This machine reduces labor outlays fourfold and provides savings of up to 150,000 rubles a year. Less than 3 years ago, the high-efficiency KOS-2 line was jointly created for the cleaning and drying of grass seeds.

Direct ties between the (ChKD-Elektrotehnika) (Czechoslovakia) and Leningrad's Elektrosila Production Association helped Czechoslovak workers to more quickly develop the production of high-power air cooled asynchronous motors cooling and to introduce new insulation materials and systems. A joint scientific and technical council was formed for coordinating the work of the enterprise.

#### Joint Design Buros

Joint design buros, consisting of specialists from different countries, are operating successfully. The technical specifications developed in these buros are then jointly used in production. Thus, the GDR, the USSR and Czechoslovakia have instituted joint design bureaus for creation of forging equipment and production lines of sheet-stamping presses. Associates of this international design buro have created forging equipment of the highest class, equipped with computerized information processing which has made it possible to boost its operational characteristics by a factor of 2.

International cooperation helps to reduce the creative time of special-purpose equipment in the most diverse fields of technology. A general agreement was signed on scientific and technical cooperation between the Electrowelding Institute imeni Ye.O. Paton of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Technical Cybernetics and Robotics of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences providing for unification of efforts in research, development, creation, testing and use of robot "welders." As a result, a most complex robotized complex has been developed and is going into production.

An important task of intensification is, as we know, all possible economy of fuel, raw and other materials. The establishment of direct ties makes it possible to find new ways of solving this problem. Thus, in the process of direct cooperation between bearing plants in Debrecen (Hungary) and the First State Bearing Plant in Moscow, a technology was developed of tempering ball bearings and eliminating the loss of metal going into shavings. The introduction of this technology provides an up to a 20-percent saving of metal.

A necessary element of direct ties in any form of cooperation is exchange of experience, which also brings with it a significant economic effect. The introduction at the machine-building combine in the city of Ruse (Bulgaria) of innovations borrowed from Rigaselmash Plant makes it possible to save 25,000 leva a year. The cooperation of Leliya Sewing Association in Vilnius with the Erfurt Sewing Combine in the GDR and the Debrecen Sewing Factory in Hungary has produced for the Lithuanian enterprise an economic effect of more than 150,000 rubles. The Ufa Khimprom Production Association and the (Bitterfeld) Chemical Combine are engaged in joint research and exchange of experience in production of herbicides, acids, chlorine and caustic soda. Khimprom effectively obtains information on outstanding technical solutions found in the GDR and, in its turn, turns over experience. As a result, the production of monochloroacetic acid has grown twofold. At both enterprises, continuous production of amine salt of increased concentration has been introduced. This has reduced by 25-35 percent the need for packing and railroad cars.

Experience shows that the more difficult the problem, the greater the arsenal of resources required for its solution. The reverse relationship is also true: the more complex the cooperation, the more effective the results. An example of such complex cooperation on the basis of direct ties is the cooperation of Soviet and Bulgarian machine builders in the creation of transport and loading devices for automatic lines. Joint design bureaus were created where Soviet and Bulgarian engineers work together. Then tens of Soviet and Bulgarian enterprises joined in the work. The result was the creation of a new direction in Bulgarian machine building--production of transport and loading systems, superior to corresponding Western analogs.

#### Promising Forms of Mutual Operation

The fraternal socialist states attach great importance to further growth of work in development of direct ties and to an active search for new forms of cooperation. Recently, an agreement was signed in Sofia on instituting joint Soviet-Bulgarian scientific-production associations in the field of machine-tool building. On the Soviet side, there will participate in them Ivanovo Machine-Tool Building Production Association and Moscow's Krasnyy Proletariy Machine-Tool Building Association and on the Bulgarian side, the state (Zavody Metallovezhushchikh Stankov) Association (Sofia) and the Beroye Scientific-Production Operational Combine of Robot Building (Stara Zagora).

The signed agreement is an important step in the development of direct production ties between enterprises of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, contributing to expanded specialization and cooperation of production and deepening of socialist economic integration.

This year the USSR and Czechoslovakia created the Robot International Scientific-Technical Association (this was written up in issue No 16 of EG).

The creation of such international associations is undoubtedly a new and promising form of cooperation between socialist fraternal countries.

The successes achieved in development of production cooperation and establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organizations of CEMA countries are indisputable. At the same time, unsolved problems are to be found in this important undertaking. Great possibilities and unutilized reserves exist. The countries of the socialist community are directing their efforts to put them to use.

At the recently held 116th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, representatives of the fraternal states, guided by the conference's directives, discussed the status, possibilities and prospects of development of direct ties between economic and scientific-technical organizations of CEMA member countries, especially in the field of cooperation. The countries reached an agreement to direct the development of direct ties first of all to the solution of problems of public-production intensification, concentrating attention on cooperation in development and introduction of the latest technologies, equipment and materials, on raising the technical level and quality of products and on production of very important products, as well as, when necessary, on expansion and modernization of production capacities through joint efforts. The special importance of direct ties and cooperation in leading production sectors for acceleration of scientific and technical progress and growth of reciprocal trade was emphasized.

Much work in this direction is being done in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people are being mobilized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its all-out activation. Broad developmental perspectives of USSR cooperation with the fraternal countries were outlined in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program submitted for nationwide discussion.

"The CPSU," it is stated in the draft of the Program's new edition, "will actively participate in the joint work of the fraternal parties on coordinating economic policy, improving the mechanism of economic cooperation, searching for new forms of it, deepening of specialization and cooperation of production, coordination of plans, exchange of advanced experience and establishment of direct ties between associations and enterprises."

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CSO: 1825/33



SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

REVIEW OF BOOK ON CEMA SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL POTENTIAL

Moscow EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 119-122

[Review by Prof Osmova, doctor of economic sciences, of book "Nauchno-tekhnicheskiye potentsialy stran SEV: sostoyaniye, vzaimodeystviye" [Scientific and Technical Potentials of CEMA Countries: Status, Interaction]. Editor E.S. Kostakova. Moscow, Ekonomika, 1984. 119 pages.]

[Text] The process of internationalization of the scientific and technical activities of CEMA member countries, which has undergone development recently, manifests itself first of all in growth of the role of international scientific and technical cooperation, in its tie-in to international specialization and cooperation of production and also in interaction of the scientific and technical potential of the socialist community's countries. The reviewed book is of undoubted interest from the point of view of these problems.

In giving a general characterization of the scientific and technical potentials of CEMA member countries, the author makes a detailed analysis of the present structure and level of the scientific and technical potential of individual CEMA member countries and the principal directions of their development and inclusion in international division of labor in the field of science and technology. In the economic literature, the concept "scientific and technical potential," which appeared from since the end of the '60s, as yet does not possess a sufficiently precise determination. In the reviewed work, a quite valid, in our view, conception of this category is proposed. Scientific and technical potential in the conception of the author "is a system which provides for the creation and introduction into production and social practice of scientific and technical information required for increasing the economic and social effectiveness of all spheres of human activity" (pp 11-12).

An evaluation of the concept "scientific and technical potential" should be given from the positions of a systems approach. Various points of view exist concerning what subsystems are included in scientific and technical potential. I.S. Ilin suggests considering scientific and technical potential "as a system whose nucleus is the subsystem 'scientific potential' which includes the subsystem of production serving as an instrument of vertical carryover of

technology from the sphere of research and development to the sphere of production and social practice" (p 12).

Analysis of the scientific and technical potentials of CEMA member countries is carried out on the basis of indicators adequately showing the diversity of an actual subject of research, in which connection the following aspects of scientific and technical potential are selected: resources (trained personnel, material and technical base of the sphere of science and technology, data base); functional aspect of scientific and technical potential and its effectiveness, which is considered while taking into account the developmental level of scientific and technical potential and the end results of its impact on the sphere of material production.

Each of these aspects, in the author's opinion, can be characterized by one maximally generalized volume indicator. For the resource characterization of the potential with such a generalized indicator, the total sum of expenditures on resource formation of scientific and technical potential can be used; for an assessment of the functioning of scientific and technical potential and its effectiveness--the economic effect from the introduction of the latest innovations into the national economy or from growth of public production efficiency through a rise in labor productivity (or share of growth of produced national income because of scientific and technical progress).

Indicators descriptive of scientific and technical potential are systematized into two groups: input (basically resource) and output--presenting a qualitative description of the functioning of scientific and technical potential and the effectiveness of its use. Besides, indicators characterizing the interaction of national scientific and technical potential and its inclusion into international division of labor are examined separately (see pp 14-15).

Of major importance is a comparative analysis conducted by the author of the scientific and technical potentials of CEMA member countries of indicators of the total size and growth rates of the number of scientific personnel as well as of persons employed in the sphere of science and technology and scientific services, outlays on scientific-research and experimental-design work, number of submitted claims of inventions and of issued patents and others. The author notes that comparative analysis of individual indicators characterizing the scientific and technical potentials of different countries is running into serious methodological difficulties. The main difficulty is that the quantitative indicators of these components are of little value if they do not reflect qualitative aspects. But it is difficult to describe the latter quantitatively and even more difficult to put them into a comparable form. Furthermore, under the conditions of the present scientific and technical revolution, the developmental process of different countries' scientific and technical potential proceeds very dynamically, frequently nonlinearly, that is, the actual system of coordinates with which the scientific and technical potential is measured is constantly changing. That is why separate disconnected assessments are becoming inadequate and the problem arises of organizing continuous comparison of the scientific and technical potential through the introduction of a time coordinate into the analysis (see p 17).

Appraisal and comparative analysis of the scientific and technical potential include two levels: the national, on which the existing methodology of calculation of indicators is perfected and developed and the international, on which the total of national scientific and technical potentials is studied. According to this author, the aggregate scientific and technical potential of CEMA member countries (as the total of national scientific and scientific potentials) is differentiated and that part of it which at the present time is functioning in international division of labor in the field of science and technology is the integrated scientific and technical potential (INTP). Thus, the author writes, in the process of international scientific and technical cooperation in the CEMA "not only adaptation and interweaving of national scientific and technical potentials occur but also the formation of those of their elements which directly participate in the creation and development of international scientific and technical relations among CEMA member countries" (p 19). Under the conditions of the dynamically developing scientific and technical revolution in the countries, international division of labor in the field of science and technology is carried out most intensively and acquires a qualitatively new character for the integration process. A confirmation of this is in particular the fact that the results of a number of jointly conducted studies in the area of international scientific and technical cooperation (for example, at specialized and cooperating enterprises, at international economic associations and others) are already being used at integrated economic facilities in the sphere of production and circulation. Although there are as yet few such examples, the author believes that it is now already possible to speak of the development of scientific and technical integration.

The determining quantitative macrocharacteristic of joint scientific and technical potential and integrated scientific technical potential, in the opinion of the author, is the amount of expenditures (and their structure) on forming of resources, that is, their static and dynamic characteristics. A final assessment of integrated scientific and technical potential is based on the attained growth of labor productivity in the national economy of CEMA member countries due to economy of expenditures in the production sphere obtained as the result of the functioning of the integrated scientific and technical potential; economy of raw, other materials and power, reduction of products' labor intensiveness and their production cost with the use of new technological schemes and because of utilization of new technical developments, rationalization and reequipment of production; reduction of outlays and repayment periods and so on as a result of specialization of scientific-research and experimental-design work.

For the theory and practice of international scientific and technical cooperation, determination is very important of its place in the process of formation of the integrated scientific and technical potential of CEMA member countries, including from the point of view of interaction between the scientific and technical revolution and socialist economic integration.

The work shows the role of international scientific and technical cooperation (MNTS) as a very important component that actively interacts with other components of the integration process, first of all with production and economic cooperation within the framework of long-range special-goal programs,

a coordinated plan of diverse integration measures, programs in the field of fuel and power problems, protection of the environment and others.

At the same time, as the most dynamic component in the system of economic integration, international scientific and technical cooperation, in the opinion of the author, is bound to play a more important role in the development of production and technical relations of CEMA member countries. Thus with the development of a broad work front on forming and carrying out long-range special-goal cooperation programs, the author thought it advisable to concentrate his attention on the solution of scientific and technical problems connected with the economic tasks of long-range special-goal cooperation programs. International scientific and technical cooperation in close, organic connection with cooperation in the sphere of production and exchange results, as the author believes, in changing existing and forming new national-economic proportions, increasingly exerting an influence on the structural improvements of the cooperating countries in the sectorial and regional contexts. All this attests to the fact that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution science serves as one of the chief stimulators of production and is among the principal structural forming factors in the creation of an optimal national-economic structure (see p 43). Moreover, the dominant role of international scientific and technical cooperation in integration processes should grow with a rising scientific and technical level of public production in each of the CEMA member countries, and a rise of the scientific and technical level of the national economy, as the author justly notes, results in the final analysis in an increase in the number and a rise in the quality of newly produced consumer values at a given level of expenditures, that is, in a rise of national-economic effectiveness.

Examining ways of speeding up the introduction of scientific and technical results in production, the author selects such aspects of scientific and technical cooperation as materialization of its results, improvement of the organizational and control mechanism of their introduction, stimulation of scientific and technical cooperation of CEMA member countries and others.

A characteristic feature of the unfolding scientific and technical revolution is the intensifying process of interaction and interpenetration of science, technology and material production. Science develops on the basis of improvement of production, while production progress directly depends on the achievements of science, which has become an immediate productive force. The author approaches comprehensively the studied aspects of international scientific and technical cooperation from the point of view of the entire cycle of formation of a continuous process, beginning with a scientific idea and ending with materialization of the obtained scientific and technical results in production, exchange and distribution of developed products: "nauka--technology--production--exchange--use" (see p 47).

Among the most important problems arising in connection with the introduction of scientific and technical results obtained within the framework of international scientific and technical cooperation, the problem of the relationship of international scientific and technical cooperation to international specialization and cooperation of production (MSKP) is also analyzed. At the same time, the selection of one or another variant of

interaction of international specialization and cooperation of production is not restricted to purely organizational questions. The author includes in the problem analysis and accounting of external and internal conditions of the reproduction process, keeping in mind the countries' needs for modern science-intensive products, the economic interest of products and mutual responsibility of partners for the introduction of scientific and technical results and industrial production of finished products. In an examination of the interaction of international scientific and technical cooperation and international specialization and cooperation of production, the author proceeds from the following variants: international scientific and technical cooperation precedes international specialization and cooperation of production (the connection of science to production) and international scientific and technical cooperation is determined by the already existing international specialization and cooperation of production (the connection of production to science). In practice, simultaneously and mutually connected existence and development of these two variants are possible. The author cites as a positive example of the practical realization of a complex approach to international scientific and technical production and international specialization and cooperation of production the development and introduction within the framework of the international Interelektro Organization of a single series of AI asynchronous low-voltage electric motors (see pp 49 and 52).

Problems of specialization of CEMA countries in the sphere of scientific-research and experimental-design work, material production and of interaction of scientific and technical potentials in individual forms of cooperation are examined in the monograph.

The solution of the problem of the organic interrelation of international scientific-technical cooperation and production economic cooperation will to a significant degree promote specialization of CEMA member countries in the field of scientific-research and experimental-design work, while the specialization of scientific-research and experimental-design work carried on by the countries in its turn is an important prerequisite in the forming of an integrated scientific and technical potential of the countries on the basis of implementation of a selective scientific and technical policy.

M.S. Ilin calls cooperation within the framework of international economic organizations, especially within the framework of international scientific-production associations, a promising form contributing to the deepening of scientific-technical cooperation in organic association with production. But, he points out, despite the great importance and significance of those impulses which emanate from the "integrated" level of management, including with respect to acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the national level with the mechanisms of planning and management existing in it has been and continues to be determining. For this reason the further development of national mechanisms of management and their organic ingredient--the mechanism of management of scientific and technical progress--their one-directional orientation toward active involvement of national facilities in the integration process appears to the author to be a necessary prerequisite for its further deepening (see p 96).

In the fifth, concluding, chapter of the work "Approaches to an Appraisal and Measurement of Scientific and Technical Potential With the Aid of Económico-Mathematical Methods," formulas are derived for calculating such characteristic indicators of scientific and technical potentials as accumulation of scientific and technical resources and the employment of accumulated scientific and technical resources.

The book is not without some defects. Thus, in materials elucidating ways of strengthening the ties of science with practice, organizational forms of uniting science to production are not always fully and sufficiently consistently disclosed. The author, while having examined relatively in detail international scientific-production associations as a most promising form ensuring union of scientific-technical and production cooperation, has paid unjustifiably little attention to other organizational forms, including long-range special-goal cooperation programs or the coordinated plan of multilateral integrated measures. At the same time, their role in providing for an organic union of science and production remains as before quite substantial.

The position advanced by the author on the influence of scientific and technical cooperation on the scale, direction and structure of reciprocal foreign-trade turnover of CEMA member countries was not adequately developed in the book. In contradistinction to other materials in the book, profuse in statistical data, here there is a manifest lack of them.

On the whole, the inclusion in the book of a separate chapter showing approaches to the appraisal and measurement of scientific and technical potential with the aid of económico-mathematical methods can be considered justifiable. At the same time, the absence in the materials of a chapter on actual or at the very least provisional data makes difficult verification of the serviceability of the proposed algorithms for the solution of problems of numerical expression of individual aspects and properties of scientific and technical potential. It must be assumed that the author has elucidated only the initial step of the process, the logical continuation of which should be working out methodological instructions for a comparative analysis of the state and development of a country's scientific and technical potential.

Thus acceleration of scientific and technical progress and enhancement of the role of the basic and applied sciences in specialization and cooperation of production of CEMA member countries is logically considered by the author as a basic means of intensification of the socialist countries' public production. Analysis of the state and development of the scientific and technical potential of CEMA member countries will make it possible not only to significantly expand the limits and scope of international scientific and technical cooperation but will also make possible its conversion into an effective instrument for the implementation of a coordinated scientific and technical policy for the countries of the socialist community and permit more concrete accounting of the requirements and economic conditions of their effective inclusion in the system of international socialist division of labor.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### U.S. ACCUSED OF FANNING REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 13 Jan 86 pp 18-21

[Article by Dmitry Volsky]

[Text] Has the world ever been tranquil and untroubled--free of strife and antagonism, without some seeking justice and others out to suppress it? Probably even in the most remote past there was no period of quiet and peace. Today too, against the background of the global nuclear threat hanging over mankind, the world is witnessing what happened hundreds and thousands of years ago: the oppressed peoples fighting for independence, the working masses to rid themselves of exploitation, and each individual for a better life tomorrow, or at least a life no worse than yesterday. This struggle is assuming particularly acute forms in the developing countries, which account for the majority of the world's population.

#### The Root Causes

Can it be said, then, that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was right when, addressing the London Pilgrim's Society in mid-December, he spoke with disquiet about "conflicts in the developing world that affect the stability of the international system"? "It goes without saying," he said, "that not all of these conflicts represent the division between East and West in miniature. But if there is any real danger of U.S.-Soviet confrontation, it is likely to originate in some crisis in the developing world--precisely because the central military balance in Europe is stable."

This is the kind of half-truth which is most misleading. For, first, the more stable the balance in Europe, the less the negative effect of regional crises on general security. Second, the extension of the complex and diverse East-West relations to the vast, turbulent, changing developing world is in itself fraught with uncontrollable consequences. Not to speak of the fact that this world has enough of its own difficult problems. The most dangerous of these are characteristic of most of these countries, wherever they may be located and how unlike they might be as regards customs and traditions. The Central American latifundists wear sombreros, not turbans, and celebrate Christmas, not Ramadan, but for them landed property is as untouchable as it is for the feudal landowners in the Moslem countries. And they deceive the illiterate

peasants and kill not only representatives of the authorities, but also teachers, and blow up schools, as do the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Needless to say, the social situation even in developing countries of similar orientation is by no means identical. Each has its own specific features. In Afghanistan, for instance, the April Revolution was accepted by far from all of even those in whose interests that revolution was carried out. And this is not surprising, considering the semi-feudal way of life, illiteracy and all manner of prejudices implanted in the course of the centuries. It will take time to overcome all this, just as much time and effort will be needed before tribalism, which poisons the atmosphere in many African countries, ceases to be a political factor.

Subversive pro-imperialist forces like the anti-Angolan UNITA organization, which relies on the support of such avowed enemies of all black Africans as the South African racists, take advantage of all this. As regards the South African rulers, they, with undisguised racist arrogance, are seeking to perpetuate their privileges by means of the most up-to-date techniques for the destruction of human life.

There is a characteristic interconnection here: the intensification of the terror against the African population of South Africa itself is invariably accompanied by aggressive attacks on its neighbours. As if by the law of communicating vessels! The end of 1985 offered fresh evidence on this. On almost the very same day and hour when the police staged a manhunt on demonstrators in the outskirts of Johannesburg and prepared to arrest Winnie Mandela, another group of armed white men, this time without uniforms or marks of rank, set out for the border of Lesotho. These were professional terrorists who had orders to kill several refugees. The orders were carried out. Meanwhile another frontier, between Namibia and Angola, was crossed for the nth time by regular South African forces sent to the aid of the UNITA bands.

This too suggests a parallel--with the actions of the Israeli expansionists, whose aggressiveness increases as tension mount on the occupied Arab territories where the liberation movement is inevitably gaining momentum.

The people's desire for progress and independence cannot be suppressed by superiority in arms, by subversion, or by the debt noose in which many developing countries find themselves. Their overall indebtedness already runs to about \$1 trillion. Clearly, they will never be able to pay that debt. Even the Latin American countries, including such big ones as Brazil and Mexico, which have made notable progress in industrial development, cannot hope to be able to pay their debt of \$370 billion. Not to speak of the countries of Tropical Africa, which are still in the grip of utter backwardness. Yet Africa's debt burden has exceeded \$150 billion. The countries of the continent's tropical zone, south of the Sahara, apart from being racked by an unprecedented drought, have to pay annually nearly \$13 billion in interest alone.

This money would be enough to provide the millions of starving people not only with bread and rice, but with meat as well. And in general, according to data



released by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose experts can hardly be suspected of bias in favour of the dispossessed, there is enough food in the world to feed all of its inhabitants. "A lack of money rather than scarcity of food causes most famines," the World Bank study says. Yet money is being incessantly pumped out of the underprivileged countries through fettering loans by the very same World Bank in league with the International Monetary Fund. Or, to be more exact, by the monopolies, primarily the American, which hold in their hands the financial levers of collective neocolonialism.

Sheer robbery--and not only figuratively speaking but for many countries in the direct sense of the word--are the terms on which loans are granted by the IMF. The recipients are compelled to spend the money they get mostly to cover interest payments on old debts. Moreover, they are forced to cut subsidies for prime necessities, to freeze wages at a time of rampant inflation, to cancel social programmes, and to sell state-owned enterprises to private buyers and thereby increase unemployment--in a word, to make life altogether unbearable for sections of society whose conditions are far from easy as it is.

How can such forced austerity not increase social tension and give rise to regional conflicts? Especially where economic exploitation is compounded by national oppression, foreign occupation, or medieval survivals deliberately cultivated contrary to obvious development needs. Attempts to suppress the liberation struggle come up against legitimate resistance. All the more so if this struggle has already led to victory, which some now seek to cancel out by forcibly restoring the collapsed positions of imperialism and its stooges, again to fetter peoples who have had a taste of freedom and glimpsed a promise of a better life. Situations like this cannot but lead to bloodshed. Those who impel things in this direction have no moral right to talk about regional conflicts as a threat to peace.

"The root causes of such conflicts are multiform," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his report to the November session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. "They are partly rooted in history, but above all in the social and economic conditions in which the newly liberated countries have been placed. It is not of course by chance that the U.S., in speaking of the problem of regional conflicts, passes over in silence the brutality of apartheid in South Africa, the aggression of that country against its African neighbours, the wars waged by the American puppets in Central America and in Southeast Asia, and many other things. Washington seeks to equate the lawful governments of countries that have taken the road of national liberation and social progress with the counterrevolution."

#### Inconvenient Facts

Last summer representatives of this motley Third World counterrevolution gathered in a traditional thatch-roofed hut somewhere in Africa on an invitation from UNITA. They included leaders of the Nicaraguan contras, the Afghan dushmans and gentlemen of unidentified nationality from Southeast Asia. They

were brought together by some American "private" organization operating as an unofficial agent of U.S. government services.

What exactly they agreed on is not known, but very soon afterwards dollars began to be showered on all the participants in the meeting. First, the Nicaraguan contras began to receive sums they previously could not have dreamed of, and not only through secret, but also through official channels. Even more lavishly financed were the Pakistan-based Afghan dushmans, for whom the U.S. Congress officially allocated \$250 million, and shortly afterwards, according to press reports, gave a "secret" handout of \$470 million for the purchase of armaments. The anti-Kampuchea forces received anything from five to ten million dollars. Lastly, the question was raised of openly funding UNITA. According to press reports, a relatively modest figure of \$15 million was first mentioned, but soon it was doubled. And that only as an "initial contribution." According to data cited at the recent congress of the MPLA--Party of Labour, the contribution is to be increased tenfold, to the huge figure of \$300 million.

And this for puppets of racist South Africa. By supporting them openly, Washington is setting itself against the whole of independent Africa. The New York Times rightly observed recently that this policy signified "remoteness from the realities on the ground: military, political, diplomatic, psychological." But, as the paper put it, "facts are inconveniences brushed aside" when it comes to the ideological postulates of the neoconservatives, who are out to shape the policy of the Republican Administration. Speaking of the "nationalist hero" UNITA headman Jonas Savimbi, one neoconservative leader remarked: "If Jonas Savimbi were an American citizen, he would be the presidential candidate of the conservative movement in 1988."

Absurdities like this are not simply wisecracks. There is a design behind them. Just because the undeclared war against Angola is in the view of the U.S. public the most controversial of such wars since the U.S. is involved here as a direct ally of the racist regime of South Africa, the idea is to use it as something of a touchstone. As a New York Times Washington correspondent wrote, "conservatives plan to make aid for Angolan rebels their primary foreign policy objective in 1986. "Just as was the case with the Panama Canal agreements and the SALT 2 treaty. The question is bluntly posed of the violent overthrow of the "Marxist government" of Angola with whom Washington has diplomatic relations and U.S. companies, for instance, Gulf Oil of Cabinda, have profitable dealings.

And that is not all. There are those who call for the toppling of the government in Mozambique, although that country is considered to be more acceptable to Washington. The object is clear. If the U.S. is assuming such functions in Africa, what can be expected of it in its Central American "backyard" or in areas adjoining the frontiers of the socialist community which could be used as springboards. Here really no holds are barred.

In American political jargon this course is indicatively called "the new globalism." News analyst Anthony Lewis says: "The concept is this: the United States should intervene in wars in Third World countries whenever there is a chance to fight Soviet or Marxist influence. It should do so all around

the world, without regard to particular local conditions." This should be done, the government holds, preferably through the agency of others wherever possible. The "freedom fighters" opposed to the Communists must be given moral support, money and arms. But not backed with troops. This is the substance of the "Reagan doctrine," the F.R.G. Die Zeit observes. But how safe is it to give a free hand to the "others"?

#### Not Only the Middle East

For instance, in the Middle East. After the unsuccessful Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Washington's fake "peace-keeping" exercise and the eruptions of terrorism and other stormy events, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin began speaking of preparations for a new war. But he cautiously avoided specifying against what country. As experience has shown, the target could be most unexpected. Recall the air raids on a Baghdad suburb and the PLO headquarters in Tunis. Now PLO circles have been informed that Israel may strike at "Palestinian targets" in Sudan and North Yemen.

In effect, the United States' "strategic ally" has trained its sights on the entire vast area between the Indian and Atlantic oceans. But most dangerous of all is the possibility of the senior partner being involved in the hostilities. The shelling of the Lebanese coast from the sea and the landing there of U.S. marines in 1982 showed how easily this could happen. And it is even easier now when the U.S. military infrastructure in the Middle East has become considerably more ramified since the beginning of the eighties. Suffice it to mention the U.S. Central Command, in the sphere of whose operations 19 Southwest Asian and Northeast African countries have been officially included since 1983. In the initial period the U.S. military did not attach too much importance to Centcom and the Rapid Deployment Force subordinated to it, regarding them as something in the order of scarecrows, "exhibits from Disneyland." In the past three years, however, the new command has been built up into a tangible military force. It now has at its disposal 6 combat divisions, 3 carrier task forces, 7 tactical air force squadrons, B-52 bombers, special-duty forces and commandos, altogether 307,000 men.

Against whom is this armoured fist to be used? According to information that percolated into the press from U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's latest annual report, whereas formerly the main task of the Rapid Deployment Force was said to be "to prevent the spread of Soviet influence," now "preservation of the stability in the region" had been added.

Does this apply only to the Middle East? The U.S. News and World Report, which is known to be close to Weinberger's department, predicts that very soon Washington will have no choice but to dispatch troops to protect its bases in the Philippines. It is no secret that in Central America everything has already been prepared for U.S. armed intervention in Nicaragua, for which a rehearsal was staged two years ago in Grenada. And can it be considered a matter of chance that one of the organizers of the invasion of Grenada, Admiral Poindexter, who is generally regarded as an advocate of the "use of armed forces to resolve political problems," was named the President's National Security Adviser? Incidentally, his first move in his new capacity was to undertake a tour of a number of Central American countries.

In any case it is undeniable that the policy of countering "Soviet" or "Marxist" influence in the Third World at all costs amounts in practice to fanning regional conflicts and, subsequently, to intensifying American direct interference in these conflicts. More, it leads to U.S. military intervention, inasmuch as it is becoming increasingly difficult for the U.S. to achieve its ends through the agency of others. The imperialists are bent on social revenge on both regional and global scale, they are bent on checking and even reversing the normal march of events. Hence the aggravation of conflict situations in different regions. And this of course cannot but increase international tension in general. It would therefore have been more in place for Secretary of State Shultz to have addressed to Washington his exhortation "to contain these regional conflicts" and "to help to resolve them."

### Duplicity

We have thus returned to the Shultz speech to the Pilgrims' Society. Behind the rhetoric the duplicity of the U.S. concept of regional conflicts can be discerned.

First, about the "danger of U.S.-Soviet confrontation" as a result of "some crisis in the developing world." Who extended the sphere of operations of Centcom all the way to the Soviet frontiers, moreover for hundreds of kilometres? The growing support given by Washington to the dushmans sent into Afgahnistan is only one of the destabilizing factors in this strategically important zone. Is not stability shaken also by the massive supply of arms to the Pakistani military regime, which is in a state of permanent confrontation not only with its neighbours, but with the majority of the population of its own country, including the large tribes in the northwest, and is reaching out to the nuclear bomb besides?

Or take the Iranian-Iraqi war. Washington does not like to recall this, but the fact remains that the Americans themselves, and specifically Zbigniew Brzezinski who circulated deliberately explosive misinformation in the Middle East, helped to provoke it. Now Brzezinski's successors do not conceal the fact that they see in this protracted war definite advantages for themselves. These were described by a former U.S. ambassador to a Persian Gulf Country thus: the strengthening of the domination of the mullahs in Iran along with the "neutralization of the export of the Islamic revolution," on the one hand, and the restriction of political freedom of action for Iraq, on the other. Is this not an irresponsible approach to the situation in a region for which the U.S. generals themselves three years ago drew up a 'scenario for escalation'? According to this "scenario," the dispatch of the U.S. Fleet to the Persian Gulf was to be followed in 125 days by general mobilization in the NATO countries. Thus, the danger of the spread of regional conflicts, of their detonation does exist. But it is created not by the conflicts as such and even not so much by possible fatal concatenations of circumstances as by the imperial policy of the United States.

Second, from the Shultz speech it follows that the U.S. by no means rules out the possible use of methods already tried out in the Third World and in other areas. In his address to the London Pilgrims he sought, according to the New

York Times, to persuade the United States' European allies to support Washington policy with regard to Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea and now Angola. If it is thus considered in place publicly to propound "creeping aggression" against legitimate, internationally recognized governments of some countries, what guarantee is there that an exception will be made in the case of others? This roughly was the inner logic of the London speech. And it can hardly be considered a mere coincidence that a few days later, speaking in West Berlin, Shultz openly questioned the existing political realities not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also in Europe.

Third, it is becoming increasingly clear that the U.S. efforts to carry East-West relations over to regional conflicts by making these conflicts the principal international problem divert the attention of the public away from the paramount task facing all humanity today--that of preventing a nuclear war, terminating the arms race on Earth and preventing it from spilling over into outer space.

#### What Is to Be Done?

Clearly, the regional conflicts must be settled. But the settlement must not run counter to the aspirations of the peoples, to the interests of international security. All the more so since the two are inseparably linked. The ideas advanced by the U.S. latterly bear this out--by the rule of contraries. Essentially, these ideas boil down to a thinly veiled demand that the progressive Third World governments capitulate to the so-called "democratic opposition" fostered by U.S. imperialist circles, or at any rate make unilateral concessions all along the line, from the gradual transfer of effective power into the hands of counterrevolutionary forces to the return to "the world economy" and to "the family of free nations" of which President Reagan spoke in his speech at the United Nations.

The meaning of all this hardly needs deciphering. We know--not from speculative constructions but from practical politics--instances of such "returns," from that of Pinochet to that of Sadat. The latter instance graphically showed that the capitulationist models of settlement do not strengthen, but on the contrary undermine international security, increase the danger of new local conflicts. It will be remembered that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon began a little more than a month after the stationing of U.S. troops in the Sinai in conformity with the Camp David agreements.

The peace forces advance altogether different platforms for the settlement of regional disputes. The proposal for an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the sides concerned, the proposals of the Indo-China countries for normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia, the initiatives of the Afghan leadership for talks with neighbouring countries and now also for a broad dialogue within the country, or, say, the peacemaking efforts of the Contradora group in Central America--all these are based on the principles of justice, and hence are fully realistic, if policies are viewed in historical perspective.

"We stand for the recognition of the inalienable right of every nation to freedom and independence, to choose its path as it sees fit," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech at the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet session. "We hold that this right must not be trampled by anyone, that there must be no attempts at interference from without, that freedom, not tyranny, should triumph. We have always sided and will continue to side with peoples upholding their independence. This is our principled policy."

Washington of course adheres to the opposite principles. But recognition of the realities have never done anyone any harm. What has always been harmful is to ignore the realities in pursuance of futile imperial ambitions.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

PRAVDA ASSAILS U. S. EMPHASIS ON REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 85 p 4

[Unsigned Article: "It Is Time to Be Cured of the 'Intervention Complex'"]

[Text] Nowhere are disdain for the norms of international conduct and ignoring the realities of the modern world manifested so openly as in the so-called regional policy of the United States. It can be called "regional" only conditionally, in order to distinguish one component of Washington's general policy in international affairs, namely its policy with respect to countries which are striving to conduct an independent policy and do not wish to live according to American recipes.

Essentially this concerns the approach of the American administration toward most of the countries of the world. If one attentively examines U. S. actions it is not difficult to detect that in principle Washington's approach to any state, whether allied or ideologically close to it or not, is structured around one and the same pivotal point. The essence of this approach is that of great power prerogatives, pretensions to hegemony, intolerance toward manifestations of independence, diktat in different forms and a special, specifically American egoism.

What U. S. NATO ally, and they supposedly are privileged friends, has not experienced severe discipline established and jealously maintained by Washington in this alliance of presumably equal partners. At each step of the way the Western European states, Japan and members of the ANZUS Bloc are unambiguously shown the limits of their political independence. It is well when the matter is limited to shouts and verbal threats.

With its friends from the category of developing countries the U. S. operates even more unceremoniously. They can simply "have their oxygen cut off," as the saying goes, if they cross the path of the United States anywhere. There are more than enough examples of this with respect to the countries of the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

In Washington they love to talk about political pluralism. But these are words. Deeds speak otherwise. It is enough to recall how the United States reacted when the prospect appeared, as the result of the functioning of the democratic process, for representatives of leftist forces to enter into some

government or another. Do those who suppressed democracy in Chile have the moral right to speak about democracy and political pluralism?

Recently administration representatives have said particularly frequently that international tension increases primarily through regional conflict situations. There is a dual objective here. In fact, they do not conceal it. On the one hand it is to distract attention from the global threat posed by Washington's plans to force the arms race and extend it into new spheres, and away from Washington's unreadiness to solve security issues. On the other hand it is a patent attempt to conceal the fact that the existing tension in some areas of the world and the emergency and spread there of sharp conflicts is the result of U. S. policy, which is more and more oriented toward interference in the affairs of sovereign states. Ideological intolerance is being transformed into direct actions aimed at overthrowing governments objectionable to the U. S. and changing the social and political system chosen by one or another people.

How is the regional problem created? The technique for this process can be traced using Central America as an example. Washington was displeased that the Nicaraguan people chose a path of development which went outside the framework of American views on the permissible independence of a state in an area arbitrarily called a "zone of exclusive interests" of the U. S.

Representatives of the American administration err profoundly if they believe that the people have forgotten where the so-called "contras" came from. Their geneology comes from professional killers, from Somoza's "guardsmen," hired by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. In their day the formation of these bandit groups and their training and infiltration into Nicaragua were considered "secret operations" of the CIA, which, by the way, were not so secret from the very outset.

Now these mercenaries Washington calls nothing more or less than "freedom fighters," and tries to depict the situation as though these paid terrorists are a "democratic opposition," with which the lawful government of Nicaragua, chosen in universal elections, must share power. Similar "opposition forces" were formed in Angola, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where, with most active U. S. participation, they sow terror and violence. The United States, by starting down the path of intervention and supporting anti "popular groups," thereby creates sharp centers of tension.

This policy of the U. S. administration is arousing decisive condemnation throughout the world. This forces Washington to camouflage it and substitute concepts, in order to distort reality, and to enter into various kinds of concoctions to prove that there is no widespread opposition to the U. S. policy of intervention and to the enkindling of regional and international tension.

The absurdities to which representatives of the American administration resort in attempting to whitewash its policy can be seen based on the example of the statements by U. S. Deputy Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs E. Abrams. He circulated insinuations that the Soviet Union supposedly "calmly" receives U. S. policy and actions in Central America.



Since Mr. Abrams cannot but know the position of the Soviet Union, this means only one thing -- that he is pursuing most unseemly objectives. It goes without saying that the principled policy of the Soviet Union does not suit the advocates of interference, but their attempts to blacken Soviet policy are in vain.

The Soviet Union condemns in the most resolute fashion U. S. policy in Central America and with respect to Nicaragua. The USSR has stood and stands on the side of the rightful cause of the Nicaraguan people and is in solidarity with their struggle. The Soviet people demand and seek a halt in the interference and undeclared war against a sovereign state, and an end to arbitrariness and flouting the norms of international law and the basic principles of the UN Charter. This relates equally to U. S. actions in other areas of the world. This was stated to the American side with total clarity at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva.

Washington deceives itself when it claims that the polarization of opinions surrounding American policy with respect to Nicaragua passes along the East-West watershed. It passes along the line: the U. S. versus the rest of the world. There is not a single state which would support U. S. use of force in Central America. These are the facts and they cannot be concealed or changed by concoctions concerning the clear and precise Soviet position.

When the Americans want to say that some phenomenon is entirely obvious and cannot be ignored they usually say: "But it is written on the wall." Is it not time for Washington to see this inscription, refuting its policy, written in large letters and many languages?

9069

CSO: 1807/152

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. DISCRIMINATORY TRADE PRACTICES ASSAILED

LD211739 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Feb 86

[Igor Charikov commentary]

[Text] It is reported from Washington that U.S. Secretary for Commerce Baldrige, speaking in the Senate, said that the administration has extended for 1 year all operative discriminatory export control measures. The White House has concluded, the secretary said that these measures, concerning the USSR among others, must be kept as a contribution to U.S. foreign policy. Igor Charikov is at the microphone:

Commercial and economic ties have already been used for many decades by the United States as a lever of pressure on other countries in order to foist on them political decisions which suit Washington. There are many examples of how, by various sanctions, boycotts, and suchlike repressive measures, the U.S. authorities aspired to solve questions relating to the sphere of foreign policy. Over the past few years the United States has resorted to this tactic over 50 times. Under various pretexts the U.S. Administration in 1974 passed through Congress a discriminatory law in relation to trade with the Soviet Union. This measure, which, incidentally, was widely condemned by representatives of business circles in the United States, dealt a serious blow to Soviet-American relations as a whole.

The practice of subsequent years showed that the policy of restricting trade with the Soviet Union brings with it a whole range of consequences which are undesirable for the U.S. economy. In the recent past, proceeding from this, the Reagan administration was forced to lift many of the previously adopted discriminatory measures. However, this enforced pragmatism did not change the basics of the present administration's hardline approach to trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union. The above-mentioned speech of Secretary for Commerce Baldrige can serve as confirmation of this. In his words, in the near future no radical steps are expected toward normalizing Soviet-U.S. business ties.

Such a policy of the White House contradicts the spirit of the Geneva accords reached during the summit meeting. Neither is it consonant with the atmosphere in which the meeting of the U.S.-Soviet trade and economic council

was held in December last year. At that time over 400 leaders of the biggest corporations and firms of the United States came to Moscow. Secretary for Commerce Baldrige was also in Moscow. The overwhelming majority of representatives of the U.S. business world spoke then in favor of the speediest elimination of the remaining obstacles on the way to developing bilateral trade. Speaking to participants in the meeting during the dinner in the Kremlin, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that cooperation between individuals, peoples, and states with differing social systems and differing ideologies is something that is fully possible, and today extremely necessary.

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CSO: 1825/44

WESTERN EUROPE

ETHNIC GERMAN EMIGRE EXPLAINS REASONS FOR RETURNING TO USSR

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 24 November 85 p 3

[Article by I. Tronin: "Why I Fled the FRG"]

[Text] Mikhail Gopfinger, a resident of the village of Frunze in Slobodzeyskiy Rayon, was brought up without a father. His mother took care of her son as well as she could and shared with him her joys and troubles. Only there was one very important item of news which she long did not reveal to him. That was the fact that her brother, who had emigrated to the FRG, began to write her letters. At first they were ordinary, like those of all her relatives. But then there began to appear accounts of the "advantages" of life abroad, and later even suggestions that she think about resettling to her "native" German soil. The woman wavered for a long time and when she received an official summons from her brother and handed in her application to depart the USSR she resolved to discuss it for the first time with her son, never doubting that he would agree to go with her. However, the rural lad stated with unexpected firmness that he would not go anywhere. No amount of persuasion or tears helped. Fifteen year old Misha asked the local people's authorities to allow him to live in his native village alone. In 1973 his mother left him.

Misha was enrolled in a boarding school. Then he finished vocational-technical school and began to work as an automotive metal craftsman in his village.

His mother wrote him regularly. At first she invited him to visit and then began more and more insistently to ask him to come permanently. She complained about her worsening health and approaching lonely old age.

"It was difficult for me to make a final choice," stated M. Gopfinger in a conversation with an ATYeM [Moldavian Telegraph Agency] correspondent. At 19 years of age I was torn between pity for my mother and a lack of desire to abandon my native land, friends and work. Some ethnic German fellow villagers tried to convince me that I must live only in my "indigenous" homeland of Germany. Many of those who left for the FRG acknowledged with sadness in their letters that they had made an irreparable mistake.

When I finally yielded to my mother's entreaties and submitted a request to depart, the Soviet state demonstrated its humanity concerning reunification of families. I was given permission without any red tape.

The rosy tone of "Western life," in which foreign countries are shown to voluntary emigres, very quickly paled. The "normal living conditions" supposedly granted to all who arrive from the USSR, about which I had heard much, in the case of my mother turned out to be a tiny, one room apartment in the city of Erlangen. For it she paid then 200 Marks per month, a third of her very modest wage, on which the two of us now had to live. I had to give up seeking work after the first few days. Without knowing the language no one would hire me and the country had enough of its own unemployed. I began to study at a three-month German language course.

The "true brotherhood of all Germans," about which West German propaganda talks a great deal, appears very unattractive in reality. I became convinced that here they call foreign Germans "brothers" while they are living outside of the FRG, especially in the USSR, and they intensely press them to come to this country. Such appeals, besides purely propaganda objectives, also pursue an entirely specific and practical objective, that of rejuvenating the German nation, in a direct, physiological sense. It is no secret that in the FRG, as in many other Western countries as a result of increased unemployment, inflation, concern about the future and moral degradation of a portion of the young people, the birth rate is falling and the population is aging. In order to stop these undesirable phenomena West German authorities invite ethnic Germans from abroad to reside there. In the interests of publicity they actually do help some repatriots find work, provide them residences and grant them some benefits. But all of this assistance is given only during the first three years. After this the "naturalized" Germans must live and work like everyone else.

With great difficulty I succeeded in finding employment in one of the affiliates of the Opel automobile concern. I experienced the working conditions on an assembly line. The monotonous and exhaustive work at times led to a state of madness, but it was not possible to stop. The conveyor would not wait. I had just become used to this place when they transferred me to another section and then to a third. I tried to explain that I worked no worse than others, but the foreman shrugged his shoulders, saying that I didn't understand since I spoke German poorly. However, I felt that it was not a matter of language. The attitude towards me, as toward the hundreds of Italians, Portuguese, Moroccans and Turks working in the concern was as toward a second-class individual. The native residents of the country refused to marry or to strike up even the slightest friendly relations with German immigrants. Only a child from an immigrant family who was born in the FRG is considered a full German, and even then only officially.

Many Soviet Germans who went to the FRG, finding themselves in an atmosphere of alienation, tried at first to maintain close ties with their former compatriots. Alas, this is far from always successful. Living in bourgeois society, people shrink into themselves and each strives independently to survive in the endless chase for means of existence. Thus, my mother's brother totally "forgot" about my mother when she required material support.

Also quickly forgotten are such previously common customs as paying a visit and inviting friends over for a cup of tea. I believe that the only exception are the annual meetings of former Soviet Germans in Wiesbaden. I do not know how others felt, but on me personally they had a depressing affect. Behind the boasting of the few who had been able to adapt to the new environment and who sullied their true homeland, and behind the pitiful attempts of those who were not successful to show themselves in the best light, one could see lies, insincerity and attempts to pass off their wishes as reality. I stopped going to these meetings.

In order to increase the number of our countrymen in the FRG, the old men took upon themselves the role of organizers of marriages between former Soviet Germans. This happened with me. After long attempts at persuasion, admonishments and requests from my mother and neighbors I married a young German from Moldavia. There was no love between us. On the other hand I heard more than enough anti-Soviet talk from her and her relatives. Every day they tried to convince me that in the USSR we had nothing and that today supposedly we had everything, and most importantly freedom. What freedom? In Moldavia I had freedom to work and have a means of existence. The freedom to pay more than a quarter of the family budget in the FRG for a two room apartment and to tremble at my workplace I would not call attractive.

As the years went by I more and more wanted to again see my native lands and my friends. However, my relatives were hostile toward my proposals to go to Moldavia, if only on vacation, claiming that we would not be let back out. Such conversations, which frequently ended in quarrels, more and more convinced me that I could not remain in this alien world.

One day I simply packed up my things in the car and went to the GDR. I explained at the checkpoint that I was headed for West Berlin. They let me go. By agreements between the two German states such journeys are permitted to FRG residents. On GDR territory I presented my Soviet passport and stated my desire to return for permanent residence in the USSR.

Now I am again living in my home village. I regret the lost years spent in the strange country which bourgeois propaganda calls "heaven."

9069

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WESTERN EUROPE

EXPANSION OF SOVIET-FRENCH TRADE NOTED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by I. Shchedrov, PRAVDA correspondent in Paris: "Paris Premieres of 'Lada': Soviet-French Cooperation Develops"]

[Text] In the wintry Bois de Boulogne, an attractive car, illuminated by spotlights and with the trademark "Lada" clearly visible on all four sides, stands on a raised platform in a clearing. It is the attraction which has brought hundreds of people to the park at this late hour: businessmen and diplomats, drivers from the most difficult rally road races and journalists. From the stage, one after the other, one hears speeches, interspersed with songs performed by Parisian balladeers and the spirited rhythms of an African band. The organizers of this festival, which has been held on more than one occasion before, each time in the Bois de Boulogne, are Jacques Poque and Jean-Jacques Poque, father and son as well as president and general director of the firm which bears their name. They deal in the sale and servicing of Soviet passenger cars in France. I ask Jacques Poque for an interview.

"Why is this "traditional assembly" held in December, and why is it a requirement that French and African music be played on stage?"

"That is quite simple," explains Jacques Poque "Every year, early in the morning on 1 January, right after the New Year's celebrations, there begins our most difficult and, naturally, our most celebrated road race: Paris to Dakar. Only cars of the highest quality and the best drivers have a chance at winning in this race. Not everyone makes it to the finish line. Successful completion of the race is not only a very difficult sports test, but also testimony to the quality of the cars, their credentials, in a manner of speaking. In recent years the Niva and the Lada have held an unchanging position among the favorites. And this time the teams of two Ladas are getting ready to participate in the race. A few words about the first Soviet cars sold by our firm on the French market. The first Lada was sold in 1973 and the first Moskvich in 1975. The beginnings were difficult, although the situation in the 1970's was by and large favorable. The first hundreds of cars were sold, then the first thousands. And in 1985 our firm sold over 20,000."

"What is the total number of Soviet Ladas, Nivas and Moskviches driven in France today by your customers and clients?"

"Just imagine," says Jacques Poque, "a huge plain extending to the horizon, with 170,000 cars parked in rows upon it. France occupies first place in Western Europe in terms of its number of Soviet passenger cars."

The main advantages of Soviet cars, in the opinion of J. Poque, stem from their reliability. His firm does a great deal to ensure outstanding service and repair work. Like many other French businessmen, J. Poque has paid careful attention to our latest economic plans. He has visited plants which are preparing to produce new models of Soviet cars.

"The situation in the wake of M. S. Gorbachev's visit to Paris has been favorable to expansion of cooperation between our two countries," says the president of the firm. "In the Soviet Union my attention was attracted by the new Moskvich and Zaporozhets models. As soon as they are in production, we will try offering these cars to our customers."

In the offices of the directors of the state company Renault, which occupy an entire complex of buildings on the right bank of the Seine, there has already been talk of a link in the opposite direction: French-Soviet cooperation in the production of a new model of Moskvich. Work is well underway in Paris and in Moscow. In December the firm Sciaky delivered by sea a large shipment of equipment for the welding assembly line at the Moscow Order of the Labor Red Banner Automobile Plant imeni Leninist Komsomol (AZLK). The French firm is a veteran of traditional trade and economic ties.

"We concluded our first contracts with the USSR back before the war," recalls M. Sciaky, its president and general director.

In recent years the Sciaky firm has worked together with the Izhevsk Automobile Plant, the Moscow AZLK, the Gorkiy Automobile Plant, the Kama River Automobile Plant, the Volga Automobile Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR [VAZ], and the Kharkov Tractor Plant.

Now, in the mid-1980's, Franco-Soviet cooperation encompasses virtually all important industries and is regulated by such permanent institutes as the "Big" and "Little" commissions and long-range accords governing economic cooperation.

The first joint Soviet-French space flight in the summer of 1982 on board a Soviet spaceship and the installation of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline, which was completed one-and-a-half years later and the terminus of which is located in French Alsace, represent the fruits of many years of mutually advantageous cooperation. However, these fruits were obtained under conditions in which it was necessary to overcome all sorts of difficulties.

Even while plans were being made on the ground for the upcoming space flight, and then right before the launch of the spaceship, and also at the final stage of the laying of the longest gas pipeline in the world, Washington obtained Paris' agreement not to participate in these joint projects and in general to



cut back sharply Franco-Soviet economic ties. Nevertheless, during the 1980-1984 period total trade volume between our countries amounted to approximately 20 billion rubles (approximately 160 billion francs), which represented an increase by a factor of more than two as compared to the preceding five-year period. At the same time, the "Big" Soviet-French Commission was forced to announce last spring that in 1984 trade volume remained at virtually the same level as in 1983.

An important impetus to the development and strengthening of Soviet-French cooperation was given by the Soviet-French summit meeting which was held in October 1985 in Paris, the agreements reached during an official visit to France by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the noticeable improvement in the international situation in the wake of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. Business circles in France have recently shown increased interest in expanding economic ties and studying the potential opportunities which are opening up in connection with the upcoming realization of huge economic plans in the Soviet Union.

Under conditions of a continuing crisis in France and employment which remains at the record three-million level, one fact has particularly profound and serious resonance: one of the results of Soviet-French cooperation today is permanent employment for 300,000 French men and women.

Yvon [Gattaz], president of the National Council of French Businessmen, whom I asked to evaluate the present outlook for Soviet-French trade and economic ties, was terse but clear.

"I would venture to say," he said, "that the present level of our relations and their volume is satisfactory neither to us nor to you. There are still too few large-scale contracts. The agreements reached at the Soviet-French summit meeting open up the possibility of moving ahead in the area of cooperation."

The agro-industrial complex is the one field of Soviet-French cooperation in which changes in many directions have been noted recently. Thus far there are no such large-scale joint projects in this area as the installation in Astrakhan of a giant gas concentration plant, or the long-range joint efforts to use outer space and atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Results in the agri-industrial complex are attained by other means: breadth and diversity, and a practical orientation. During 1985 our countries exchanged more than 40 delegations and groups of agricultural specialists. A total of 156 French firms participated in the "Agroprom-85" show in Moscow. And in mid-October a session of a Soviet-French study group on cooperation in the field of agriculture was held in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere.

Recently, close cooperation in scientific research has been begun between the All-Union Order of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin and the French National Institute for Agricultural Research; this cooperation encompasses tens of topics. Thousands of Soviet tractors are at work in French fields, and have a good reputation here. And in Stavropol and in the Baltic republics, plants for the production of a protein concentrate from the juices of green plants have been constructed with the assistance of the firm

France Luserne. In the Uzbek city of Navoi, enterprises which will produce agricultural chemicals and synthetic amino acids for the production of fodder are currently under construction. The firm Ron-Poulenc, with which this contract was concluded, is also taking part in the conducting of demonstration experiments in Vinnitsa Oblast on the cultivation of winter rape and wheat with French technology on an area of 200 hectares.

The key role in deepening Soviet-French cooperation in the realm of the agro-industrial complex belongs to the well-known company Interagra. Its president and general director J. B. Dumeng has for many years been a supporter of the development of mutually advantageous ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Recently he obtained major new trade agreements in Moscow. "In order to develop Soviet-French trade," wrote J.B. Dumeng recently in EXPORTATION-MAGAZINE, a journal of French business circles, "we must create an atmosphere of trust. But at times we are witness to anti-Soviet campaigns; we observe the manifestation of a discriminatory policy in the attitude toward certain forms of export financing; individual demands foisted upon us by the United States are accepted." Much of what J. B. Dumeng wrote has remained unchanged.

What are the initial results of the progress which has been noted in Soviet-French cooperation? Let us take a look at the latest issue of the magazine COMMERCE ET COOPERATION, the organ of the Franco-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. According to preliminary estimates, the total volume of trade in 1985 will be greater than in either of the two preceding years. France's deficit in our balance of trade, a deficit which has arisen recently, will decrease by a factor of more than three. Shipments to France of goods produced by the Soviet machine building industry have increased significantly.

A few days ago, the French mass media reported all this in the language of specific examples, a language which ordinary people can understand. In Kiev, it was reported, in accordance with a recently signed contract, an enterprise will be constructed with assistance from the French firm Vestra which will produce 250,000 men's suits annually. The patterns for this firm are being designed by such well known designers as Pierre Cardin and Ted Lapidus. And the French like Soviet refrigerators, which were a pleasant "new addition" this year. The winners in cooperation between our peoples are France and the Soviet Union and good-neighborliness and Europe and around the world.

12825

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LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN

LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS SCORED, DEMOCRATIZATION HAILED

Moscow INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in English No 12, Dec 85 pp 49-57

[Article by A. Glinkin]

[Text]

Civilian governments have, of late, replaced military ones in a number of southern Latin American countries. In October 1982 the Bolivian military, which had held power for almost two decades, were forced to hand over the reigns of government to a civilian administration. In October 1983, the Argentine military regime fell, which seized power in the 1976 coup d'etat. And in 1985 the twenty-year rule of the generals in Brazil, and their eleven-year rule in Uruguay, came to an end.

This course of events had at least two important consequences. On the one hand, the bourgeois-democratic governments which had been in power all these years in Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador could, as they say, "breathe easy"; and, on the other, reactionary, authoritarian regimes in the region feel less "comfortable". The two remaining military dictatorships in South America look even more odious against the background of the democratic changes in other countries. In Chile the ground is burning beneath the feet of the Pinochet clique, while the oldest military regime in Latin America—the dictatorship of General Stroessner, who seized power in Paraguay in 1954—is living out its last days.

The continent's progressive figures long ago were pointing out that the time was ripe for such changes. Almost five years ago Rodney Arismendi First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, stressed that the crisis of Latin American society "time and again places on the agenda questions of economic and political independence, democracy, social progress and socialism".<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, Latin America is today experiencing an upsurge in the liberation struggle. In Central America the victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the undying flame of civil war in El Salvador have told the world of the striving of the peoples of this region to take their future into their own hands and oppose the rule of the imperialist proteges. In many ways this also brought about the political bankruptcy in Latin America of reactionary militarism, which had served as the strike force of Washington, the local bourgeoisie and the latifundistas in the struggle against the revolutionary forces.

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<sup>1</sup> 6 *Trabajos de Arismendi*, Edicion 60 Aniversario del PCU, 1980, p. 23.

## THE DOWNFALL OF THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

In the army", Karl Marx noted in a letter to Frederick Engels, "the whole history of the forms of civil society is very strikingly epitomized"<sup>2</sup>. These words help us to understand better what is going on in South America, when one military dictatorship after another which played an important role in the neocolonialist strategy of American imperialism both in Latin America and throughout the developing world, is leaving the political arena.

Of course, the military regimes in South America have never looked alike, for the very paths of their historical development are marked by great distinctions. Nonetheless, each of them had one common characteristic: support and patronage from Washington. The generals are not now stepping down from power out of good will or a love for democracy. They are leaving because they have been unable to contain the pressure of the crises caused by the masses' discontent with their position.

Official Washington is not bowing to the process of democratisation which has begun in South America. It would seem odd to dress in the robes of the champions of democracy those who, for many years, have been protecting Pinochet from the just wrath of the Chilean people, or who, by setting in motion the CIA, directed the military takeovers in Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia and so on. This, however, does not bother Washington's propaganda services, whose aim is to make political capital and to consign to oblivion the fact that militarism in Latin America is the creature of American imperialism.

Anti-communism of every stripe, from ultra-conservatism to left-wing liberalism, has always served as the pivot of the Latin American strategy of successive US Administrations, the direct result of which was the wave of reactionary takeovers in the countries of South America. When the Cuban revolution struck the strongest blow at the positions of American imperialism in Latin America, its example greatly troubled the ruling classes in the countries of the region. All the more so in light of the fact that progressive trends were at that time to be seen in the armed forces of these states. Such trends were manifested prominently in the late 1960s in Panama, Peru and Ecuador. The patriotically minded military in these countries, which temporarily held power, played an important role in carrying out the socio-economic reforms which justly went down in the chronicles of the liberation process of the Western Hemisphere. In this situation the military dictatorships which came to power in a number of South American countries were given the function of operating as the weapon of American imperialism and the local oligarchy.

As though summing up the "preliminary balance" of the military takeovers of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, Joel M. Jutkowitz, a Doctor of Political Sciences at New York University, wrote in 1977 that the takeovers in Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina bore witness to the "destruction of formal democratic practice through military intervention. The resulting predominance of military regimes in Latin America is certainly not unusual".<sup>3</sup>

The military takeovers in Brazil and Argentina replaced bourgeois-nationalistic governments which Washington considered "unreliable". In Bolivia the government of patriotic officers headed by General José Torres was overthrown. In Uruguay the coup d'état was intended to

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> *Terms of Conflict. Ideology in Latin American Politics*, Philadelphia, 1977, p. 237.

prevent the possible victory in the country's elections of the coalition of democratic forces which had united into the Broad Front. In Chile the plot was directed against the government which ran the country in the interests of the people.

In their respective countries the military regimes unleashed a veritable war against their own peoples, often resorting to fascist methods. They set up a ramified repressive apparatus and numerous terrorist organisations, which came to be known as the "death squads". Above all, the reactionary military elite tried to bleed white or place outside the law Communist and Workers' Parties, organisations opposing imperialism, all democratically minded people, and the progressive members of the intelligentsia. Harsh reprisals were taken against the working people who struck in defence of their vital rights. Even bourgeois nationalists, figures from national-reformist trends, and oppositionally minded priests came under the flame of repressions. Thousands of people languished and were tortured in prison. In Argentina alone 30,000 democratically and patriotically minded people fell victim to the terror, while hundreds of thousands of Chileans, Uruguayans and Brazilians were forced to emigrate.

Such were the fruits of the "national security" doctrine developed by the CIA and the Pentagon for the military regimes of Latin America, a doctrine which they adopted as a weapon. Within each country the aim of the doctrine was to create a fascist state structure capable of a prolonged existence and of keeping the popular masses subdued.

Another of its functions, apart from the internal one, was to serve as an instrument of imperialist interference in the affairs of the peoples of the region which rose to the struggle for their liberation. The Brazilian military regime took part in the USA's military intervention, under the flag of the Organization of American States, in the Dominican Republic in 1965. In turn, the Pinochet junta and the military rulers of Argentina would have tried to help the Americans in El Salvador, but things were going too badly for them at home to make a "weighty contribution" there. The attempts to use the armed forces in accordance with the "national security" doctrine to suppress neighbouring states caused profound discontent, including amongst patriotically minded servicemen and nationalists. This intensified the isolation of the military regimes and accelerated their downfall. In the history of Latin America, military dictatorships have come to power many times in the 19th and 20th centuries. As a rule, having done their "black deed", they have calmly and quietly lived out their days. Only in individual cases, as, for example, with the founder of the Somoza clan in Nicaragua, were they overtaken by the punishing hand of the patriots.

Times, however, are changing. In Argentina the people have called to account the leaders of the military juntas who held power from 1976 to 1983 and permitted bloody reprisals against dissidents. The French journalist Alain Rouquié called the trial the "Argentine Nuremberg"<sup>4</sup>.

#### BURDENED BY DEBTS

The results of the military regimes' economic and social experiments were, in the opinion of the Latin American public, catastrophic. They allowed the transnational corporations to expand their rule in all spheres of the economies of South American countries, which, of course, tied these countries even closer to the world capitalist market.

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<sup>4</sup> See *Problèmes d'Amerique Latine*, No. 68, 1983, p. 5.

In effect, one and the same economic model, based on the monetarist recipes of the Chicago school, was being foisted on them in different guises. As a result, those sections of the economy which usually served to attract national capital proved to be open to foreign capital. At the same time, the state sector, which in Latin America served the interests of strengthening economic independence, and customs barriers, which had formerly restrained the TNC's, were being undermined.

The "spiritual father" of the Argentine development strategy during the rule of the military, Minister of the Economy, José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz, called on people to "move forward while moving backwards". He proclaimed the changeover to an "open" economy designed to ensure greater effectiveness. In actual fact, this strategy, which the TNCs supported in every way possible, turned Argentina into a gigantic agro-industrial complex thoroughly integrated into the world capitalist economy

which simultaneously rejected key national industries, declaring them "dead weight" because of the supposedly low level of competitiveness. Thus, for Argentina, the largest industrialised country in Latin America, the fate was prepared of serving as a kind of raw-material appendage of the West, which is what it was at the end of the 19th century. The military rulers in neighbouring Uruguay were also guided in their economic policy by similar recipes.

In Brazil those in military-technocratic circles who adhered to this model hoped they would manage to "tame" the mighty transnational corporations and compel them to serve Brazil's national interests. They persuaded the working people to tighten their belts in order, on the basis of the "cooperation" of labour and capital, to "bake a big pie" and then share it.

It is now only with bitter irony that the Brazilian "economic miracle" is recalled, which was truly a miracle by the military regime and the Washington propagandists. "There's tremendous unemployment in Brazil and the hunger, catastrophic," says Brazilian Senator Alfredo Campos. "The poor are getting poorer, while the rich get richer.... We are trying to free ourselves from the savage capitalist system in Brazil, which is inhuman. Our capitalist world is in need of thoroughgoing reforms."<sup>5</sup>

The antipopular way in which the military regimes ran the economies was revealed with unprecedented force during the world economic crisis of 1981-1983. Of course, this crisis affected the whole capitalist world, but its consequences proved to be especially destructive for those countries which had followed an "open door" policy for the imperialist monopolies.

Special mention should be made about the enormous foreign debt of the region. Unreserved proponents of "development on credit", the military rulers left behind astronomical debt obligations. According to the latest official figures, of the \$360,000 million foreign debt of Latin America as a whole, more than 50 per cent falls to the six countries of the southern part of the continent where military dictators were in power until recently, or still are. The biggest foreign debt in per capita terms belongs to Chile, while Brazil holds the overall record with a foreign debt of \$105,000 million. The military regime in Argentina brought the debt up to \$50,000 million, or 68 per cent of GNP.

In their attempts to overcome the debt crisis, the governments of the Latin American countries are putting forward various proposals, ideas and initiatives which, however, are being met at bayonet point by the

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<sup>5</sup> *Granma Weekly Review*, June 23, 1985.

imperialist states, the international banks and the international financial institutions they control. Thus, for example, just before the May 1985 meeting in Bonn of the heads of the seven leading capitalist states Venezuela's Foreign Minister, speaking on behalf of all Latin American countries, called on the Seven to take a complex ("integral") approach to the debt problem and conclude a "political treaty" which would make provision for a lowering of the extremely high interest rates, a revision of the unfair prices for produce exported by the debtor states, greater access to world markets for the latter, and a letting up of trade protectionism. However, speaking on behalf of the Seven, Paul Volcker, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, rejected this initiative out of hand.

The US Administration is obviously in no hurry to help the "young democracies" which are experiencing serious economic difficulties, although it publicly vows its friendly disposition towards them. What is more, the protectionist measures recently introduced by the United States are destabilising the economic position of South American states still further. As for the International Monetary Fund and the international banks with which Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Uruguay, like other countries of the region, are forced to negotiate with regard to their financial difficulties, they, toeing Washington's line, dictate such conditions that do not offer any real hope of overcoming the crisis. This is why it is becoming more and more important for the countries of Latin America to coordinate their actions in the search for a way out of the financial and economic difficulties.

The joint position of the Latin American countries with regard to their foreign debt was first set out in the Quito Declaration in January 1984. In this declaration the participants in the conference, who had gathered in the Ecuadorian capital, warned the USA, other creditor countries, the transnational banks and international finance organisations that the West bore its share of responsibility for the appearance and solution of the foreign debt problem of Latin American and other developing countries. The problem, the Declaration said, could only be solved if the conditions were "flexible, realistic and compatible with economic revival". The subsequent meetings in Cartagena (Colombia) and Mar del Plata (Argentina), in which the 11 Latin American countries with the biggest foreign debt took part, gave a detailed grounding of the approaches of the region's countries to this problem.

Fearing the formation of a united front of debtor nations in Latin America, between the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985 the imperialist powers went partway towards a settlement of the problem by holding bilateral talks with Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela. This, however, is merely a temporary delay.

The question of the enormous and excessive foreign debt of the Latin American countries long ago grew out of a purely economic framework and became a subject of "big diplomacy". It caused the intensification of the debtor nations' contradictions with the leading centres of imperialism, contradictions which cannot be eradicated by partial concessions or half-hearted reforms.

Trying to damp down these contradictions, the propaganda machine of the West puts various "arguments" into circulation, including cock-and-bull stories about the "tractability" of the international banks and the supposed attempts of the governments of developed capitalist countries to make the financiers more "tractable". Rejecting this thesis, Miguel Angel, the editor of the newspaper *Prensa de Venezuela*, declared: "No one in Latin America should deceive himself into believing that there is any difference between the interests of international banks and those of their countries' governments, even those that belong to a European social democracy."

M. Angel was speaking in Havana in August this year at one of the most representative Latin American conferences on the debt problems of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin. This conference, like a forum of the region's trade union figures which was held in Havana a little earlier and dedicated to the same problem, was convened on the initiative of Fidel Castro, whose speeches provoked a broad international response. Government circles in Latin American countries noted the breadth and depth of the analysis by the leader of socialist Cuba of the most complex financial questions, and the clarity with which he expressed his idea of how to cut the Gordian knot of the foreign debt, which had now grown excessively high. "The problem," Fidel Castro stressed, "cannot be solved merely by annulling or cancelling the debt. All the same, we should return to the same situation, for the factors giving rise to the debt would remain in force. We link these two questions in the closest possible way: the cancellation of the debt and the establishment of a new economic order." Angrily condemning the arms race being fanned by the imperialists, Fidel Castro declared: "At the expense of military spending the resources could be found for a new international economic order, for the establishment of a system of fair prices on all Third World goods, and for the elimination of the shameful method of unequal exchange."<sup>6</sup>

The conferences in Havana were attended by the leaders of many Latin American democratic parties of left-wing, centrist or conservative orientation, and well-known politicians and public, trade union, scientific and religious figures.

Walter Guevara, the former President of Bolivia, reminded the meetings that Latin American governments were, as yet, still in many ways acting "separately" and "in isolation", and that they were therefore becoming "victims" of the "divide and rule" principle. He called the governments and peoples of the Latin American continent to coordinated and united actions.

Alfonso López, the former President of Colombia, also spoke at the Conference in Havana. He stressed that within the framework of the International Monetary Fund which had become a tool of foreign interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, Latin American countries were in a position of "second-class members". "We," López said, "must observe a rigorous discipline, an incommensurable austerity whenever we have a fiscal deficit, inflation... and they [the IMF] demand that we reduce our social spending, freeze wages, freeze all spending... in order to pay off our international debts."

"Who's the biggest debtor in the world?", this prominent Colombian politician continued. "The United States of America. It is the country burdened by the largest debt, only it has an advantage over the rest of the members of the International Monetary Fund, which is that it has a currency which allows it to issue Treasury notes to cover its fiscal deficit and continue its arms race."

Still angrier criticism of the expansionist methods of the creditor banks and the monopolies was to be heard at a conference of trade union leaders from Latin America and the Caribbean Basin. César Olarte, representing the one-and-a-half-million-strong Workers' Confederation of Venezuela, accused the IMF of following a strategy meaning "hunger and repression for Venezuelans". Valentín Pachó, the Secretary-General of the General Confederation of Labour of Peru, declared that the IMF had essentially reduced his country to ruin, while Washington was imposing ever-higher interest rates in order to have extra resources to pay for the arms race.

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<sup>6</sup> *Granma*, Aug. 2, 1985.



**THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND  
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

The process of democratic renewal underway in Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay bears witness to the fact that its tempo and depth depend in many ways on the ability of the proletariat to advance to the centre of liberation battles and socio-class conflicts. The Communist and Workers' Parties set themselves the goal of making a contribution to overcoming the contradictions in the ranks of the antidictatorial forces, and of achieving the cooperation of the public and political circles interested in reforms which would benefit large sections of the population.

Thus, in Bolivia the working class, which is united in the ranks of the Bolivian Workers' Centre, did a great deal to restore law and order in compliance with the country's constitution and create political conditions allowing the Communist Party of Bolivia (CPB) to form part of the Democratic Popular Unity government from October 1982 to November 1984. As was noted at the Fifth National Congress of the CPB, the Communists' participation in the government and the experience they acquired in running the state were of eternal importance for the people of Bolivia.

At present the Bolivian Communists are strongly criticising the inconsistent home policy course of the current government and its line in international issues. They condemn the policy of "open doors" for foreign capital and also the stepped up repressions against trade unions and left political opposition. The arrival of political change in Argentina in 1983 was accelerated by a general strike of 6 million workers and employees against the military dictatorship. The slogan of the immediate restoration of democracy won truly nationwide support. All political parties, including the Communists, acquired legal status; trade union activity was allowed to proceed normally, and new leaders reflecting the will of the working people were elected in many trade unions. The Communist Party of Argentina was given access to television and radio for the first time, and it won the right to appear before the population to explain its programme and aims. In his speech to the people in April 1985, Athos Fava, the Secretary-General of the CPA, pointed out that the Party's activity was designed to help strengthen democracy in the country, and to help unite the working class and the popular masses. He stressed "the urgent need to create the coalition of political forces which Communists call the National and Social Liberation Front, a front capable of uniting all trends seeking genuine independence and national revival"<sup>7</sup>.

In Brazil, too, the proletariat took an active part in demonstrations for the restoration of democracy on a nationwide scale, although its initial offensive surge was held back by many obstacles connected with the lack of cohesiveness in the working class movement in the political and trade union spheres. Unlike their colleagues in neighbouring countries, the Brazilian military managed to effect an organised withdrawal to previously-prepared positions. The military regime, although it could feel the growing pressure of popular forces from below, retained control over the process of going over to civilian rule until the very last moment. As a result, even today remnants of the past still exist. Growing demands to draw up a democratic constitution designed to replace the emergency legislative acts passed by the executive authorities during

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<sup>7</sup> *Nueva Era*, No. 2, 1985, p. 4.

the period of military rule, the creation of a number of new political parties, and the restoration (in July 1985) of the rights of the Brazilian Communist Party (which had been illegal since 1964)—all this speaks of the activation of the forces opposing domestic reaction.

In Uruguay success was brought by the strategy of coordinated efforts of all those who were full of determination to achieve freedom and democracy. To all intents and purposes, the entire Uruguayan people was mobilised, which forced the reactionary military to give up their positions. However, this success was prepared by the long, harsh struggle of the national-democratic forces, which were united within the framework of the Broad Front through strikes and numerous working people's demonstrations. The restoration of traditional bourgeois freedoms, the legalisation of all political parties and organisations of progressive forces and working people, the far-reaching amnesty which released thousands of political prisoners from jail, and the return to Uruguay of 400,000 nationals forced to go into exile to avoid persecution during the rampage of terror—such are the most important democratic achievements of the Uruguayan people. The government of President Sanguinetti, which took office in March 1985, has concentrated its main efforts on pressing economic problems since, in the words of the President, the situation in this sphere "has proved worse than was supposed".

Certain changes have also affected the armed forces, particularly in Argentina and Bolivia, where new commanders were appointed of the three services and many military districts. In an official statement the Argentine authorities condemned the "national security" doctrine. In military circles patriotic feelings are now appearing, and the ideas are spreading of serving one's country and people, for which servicemen used to be persecuted.

The democratisation of domestic political life has had a positive influence on the foreign policies of South American countries. Bolivia has restored diplomatic relations with Cuba and Nicaragua. The civilian government of Uruguay has restored trade relations and maritime communications with Cuba, declaring at the same time, like the government of Brazil, its intention to normalise diplomatic ties with Havana.

Proclaiming "diplomacy for results", Olavo Edigio Setubal, the Brazilian Foreign Minister, noted that its aims were in particular, to defend the principles of the self-determination of peoples, non-interference in internal affairs, the peaceful settlement of all disputes, especially in Central America, and joint actions of Latin American countries to overcome common difficulties<sup>8</sup>. During his visit to the USA this summer, Setubal condemned Washington's discriminatory trade and economic policy with regard to Brazil, and its intention to introduce quotas on the import of important export goods for Brazil. He also criticised the embargo introduced by the White House on trade with Nicaragua.

Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and other South American countries firmly support the elimination of the conflict situation created in Central America by the US interventionist policy. They actively support the Contadora process begun by Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama with the aim of extinguishing the fire of war in Central America and transferring disputes and differences among the countries of the region to the rails of peaceful settlement.

New evidence of this was provided by the Conference in the Colombian city of Cartagena of representatives of the member countries of the Contadora Group, and the recently-formed (in August 1985) Latin

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<sup>8</sup> See *O Estado*, March 16, 1985.

American Contadora support group, consisting of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay. A declaration they adopted stresses the importance of "the political will and striving for the united actions of Latin American countries in order, proceeding from their own viewpoints, to solve regional problems".

In the opinion of the participants in the Cartagena Conference, the proposals of the Contadora Group are the "only practical means of achieving peace in this region". Based on the principles of non-interference and respect for the right of every people to determine its future as it sees fit, these proposals won the support of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, as well as of many Western powers, including a number of NATO members, Japan, the non-aligned movement, and the Socialist International. In carrying out its Caribbean strategy the US Administration to all intents and purposes has found itself almost in complete international isolation.

An activation is now being observed of all South American diplomacy, and the initiative here is being taken by those countries which have thrown off military dictatorships. Together with the heads of state and government of Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden, President Alfonsín of Argentina signed the Declaration of the Six—an appeal to the nuclear powers for peace and an end to the arms race. The active support for the Declaration of the Six on the part of Argentina's closest neighbours and other countries of the region, just as the Appeal of 100 for peace which had such a widespread response in Latin America, reflected growing concern over the arms race being fanned by the US Administration and its plans for spreading it to outer space. The idea is finding more and more supporters of holding a summit conference of Latin American countries to discuss topical problems of the day and draw up a common approach to them. The Presidents of Argentina, Peru, Ecuador and Cuba have already come out in favour of convening such a conference.

The "retirement" of the military draws a line under a whole period in the political history of South America. The lessons of that period are today being considered by all those interested in preventing the return of the bleak, sometimes tragic times of the generals' dictatorships. For this, as representatives of progressive forces point out, it is important for changes in the forms of administration not to be restricted to the transfer of ministerial portfolios from the military to civilians, but to lead to a profound democratisation of public and political life and open up real prospects for solving the most acute economic and social problems facing the countries in this part of the world.

At the same time, despite the successes of the democratic process in the countries of South America, the situation in them continues to remain complex and contradictory. Reactionary militarism and those internal and external forces which stand behind it have been forced to retreat, but they have not given up their dreams of bringing back the past. The bourgeois political circles which have formed civilian governments are experiencing powerful external pressure on the part of imperialism, which is demanding that they orientate themselves on "Western democracy". Hence the attempts to lead the mass democratic movement into the calm course of limited socio-economic and constitutional reforms.

The complexity and diversity of the picture, however, cannot overshadow the main thing, i. e. the countries of South America are living through one of the turning points in their history. Striving for the united actions of the working people, Communists and all progressive forces reflecting the aspirations of the popular masses are, through their daily struggle, contributing to the elimination of dependence, backwardness, and the imperialist yoke. Thanks to this the changes in Latin America, which constitute an important characteristic of world development in the mid-1980s and contain great political potential, are becoming all the more appreciable.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

POSITIVE CHANGES IN TRADE WITH JAPAN NOTED

LD150802 Moscow TASS in English 0747 GMT 15 Jan 86

["The Way to Mutual Understanding--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS--Certain positive changes have begun to show in the field of Soviet-Japanese trade-and-economic relations of late, writes the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE). Thus, according to statistics, over the first nine months of 1985 the volume of bilateral trade grew by 789 million roubles as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. The positive changes are not only the result of growing awareness among Japanese business and political circles of the untenability of attempts at diktat with regard to the Soviet Union, but are also an illustration of Japan's interest in the development of trade-and-economic contacts with the USSR. In particular, Japanese businessmen are well aware that the Soviet Union's and Japan's immense economic potential may become a solid basis for the development of truly mutually beneficial bilateral business contacts.

Such kind of bilateral contacts as joint implementation of big economic projects is developing. This sphere of cooperation covers, in particular, joint endeavours between organisations of the Soviet Union and Japan in the construction of chemical plants, transport facilities, the development and construction of surface facilities at the deposits of economic minerals.

Such area of business contacts as mutual exchanges in advanced technology in various fields is figuring importantly in bilateral trade-and-economic relations, the newspaper emphasises.

The USSR and Japan maintain active contacts in sea shipping fisheries and other spheres. The opinion of the two countries' specialists is that such area of cooperation as production coordination in various branches of the economy is promising.

Mutually beneficial, balanced trade-and-economic contacts between the USSR and Japan, SELSKAYA ZHIZN emphasises in conclusion, may become an important factor in the establishment of an atmosphere of genuine good-neighbourliness in bilateral interstate relations.

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CSO: 1812/82

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

SOVIET-JAPANESE TRADE UNION TALKS BEGIN

LD282132 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 28 Jan 86

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS--A regular meeting of the standing Soviet-Japanese Trade Union Commission opened in Moscow on Monday.

A Japanese trade union delegation has arrived here for the meeting at the invitation of Soviet trade unions. The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) is represented by E. Yamada, head of the International Department, and K. Fujimoto, staff member of the International Department. The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Japan (Churitsu Roren) is represented by Z. Yamaguchi, deputy general secretary. The Soviet delegation is led by A. Subbotin, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Members of the Soviet delegations told the guests about the present stage in the development of the USSR with its characteristic dynamism of public, political, and economic life. It was pointed out that preparations are now under way in the Soviet Union for the 27th congress of the CPSU which is to open in Moscow on February 25. The Soviet people are now discussing documents of basic importance for their life--the drafts of new editions of the programme and rules of the CPSU, incorporating the amendments suggested, the main guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and to the year 2000.

The two sides exchanged information on the activities of their trade unions, discussed current problems of the international trade union movement, questions of development of Soviet-Japanese Trade Union ties as well as participation by organizations of working people of the two countries in the anti-war movement in the light of the new Soviet peace initiatives set forth by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

The commission meeting continues.

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CSO: 1812/82

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

JAPANESE CONSUMERS UNION DELEGATION IN ALMA-ATA

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 3 December 1985 carries on page 3 a 100-word KazTAG brief reporting on the visit of a Japanese Consumers Union delegation to Alma-Ata at the invitation of the KaSSR Consumers Union. The delegation was headed by Japanese Consumers Union President Takamura Isao.

VIETNAMESE ECONOMISTS VISIT TURKMENISTAN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 2 November 1985 carries on page 4 a 600-word TURKMENINFORM report on the visit of a group of Vietnamese economists to Turkmenistan at the invitation of the Academy of Economics of the USSR Council of Ministers. The delegation was headed by Professor Do Kuok Sam, chairman of Gosstroy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. "The Vietnamese specialists came to the Turkmenistan SSR to acquaint themselves with the situation and problems of its economy, with the methods and means of implementing the CPSU's economic and social policy in its work, and with its experience in the organization of administration, production and planning."

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CSO: 1832/409

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

U.S., ISRAEL STAND IN WAY OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by Gennadiy Musayelyan, under rubric "Time Through Facts": "The Middle East: Who Is Creating the Blind Alley? -- Maneuvers, Militaristic and Diplomatic -- The Double Military Fist of the "Strategic Allies" -- Washington and Tel Aviv Are Hindering the Settlement of the Conflict"]

[Text] The situation in the Middle East is continuing to be highly explosive. Information agencies broadcast alarming reports every day. There has been no cessation of the enormities perpetrated by the Israeli occupying forces in the south of Lebanon and on the seized Arab lands -- the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza sector. In the course of American-Israeli maneuvers that were held in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean, the plans for intervention in that region were practiced once again. As a result of the incident with the hijacking of the Egyptian passenger aircraft, there has been an increase in the anti-Lebanese and anti-Palestinian campaign on the part of Washington...

Telegrams that arrived yesterday alone confirm the tendency of a dangerous development of events in the Middle East, and once again point incontrovertibly to those who are pouring oil on the fire here. It has been reported that the Israeli army has begun to carry out wide-scale maneuvers in the southern regions of the country. Subdivisions from all branches of the armed forces, as well as reservists who have been specially assigned for that purpose, are taking part in them. The exercises have involved several tens of thousands of soldiers, hundreds of tanks and combat aircraft, and other military technology. In the course of the maneuvers a number of operational-tactical tasks are practiced, and live firings are conducted. As has been admitted by Radio Israel, the current troop exercises are the largest that have been conducted since the country was founded.

It is very telling that the militaristic games that were begun by Tel Aviv coincided with the sharp aggravation of the tension on the Egyptian-Lebanese border and the intensification of the anti-Lebanese campaign in the United States. Emphasizing the synchronization in the militaristic preparations of Washington and Tel Aviv, the local political observers point out that we are dealing with the links in one and the same aggressive plan that has been worked out jointly by the allies in the anti-Arab "strategic alliance." In this regard the Arab press remarks that, in the course of the exercises being



held in the Negev Desert, the Israeli troops, among other tasks, are practicing the task of "inflicting sudden strikes on remote targets on the territories of other countries." Recalling the recent piratical raid carried out by Israeli aviation on the suburbs of Tunis, commentators do not preclude the possibility that Tel Aviv is carrying out a similar aggressive act -- that has been coordinated with Washington -- against Lebanon, the independent political course of which has been exasperating both "strategic allies" for a long time...

All this is evidence of the fact that the Middle Eastern center of the tension continues to exert a destabilizing effect upon the situation in the region.

There are a rather large number of reasons that explain the protracted and acute nature of the events in the Middle East. The chief reason is the policy of the United States, which views this region through the prism of its imperialistic interests and its claims to world domination, and the expansionistic course of its "strategic partner" -- Israel. The imperialists do not like the reinforcement of the independence of the liberated countries. By thousands of ways and methods they attempt to bind those countries to themselves, in order to have more freedom in managing their natural wealth, and to use other people's territories for their own strategic purposes.

From Washington's point of view, the Middle East, by which the United States understands in the broad sense the region that stretches from Afghanistan and Pakistan in the east to Morocco in the west, and from Turkey in the north to Somali in the south, also represents, at the same time, a test range for practicing the methods of stifling the national-liberation movements everywhere in the world. "Today the Middle East is an operating laboratory of the twentieth century for conducting political experiments," was the statement made, for example, by former U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig, as long ago as 1982 when giving a speech at the Chicago branch of the Council for International Relations. And insofar as it pertains to the United States, that evaluation remains valid to this day.

The basic support of Washington in the Middle East is Israel, which is being drawn deeper and deeper into the carrying out of the American political and militaristic plans. The parameters of the cooperation between the two states attested to by the fact that the Israeli government has officially given its consent to join the Washington "strategic defense initiative" [SDI] program. According to a report from a UPI correspondent in Tel Aviv, at least three universities and five or six private companies are already engaged in research, the results of which can be used to wage "Star Wars." On its part, Washington has been unceasingly pumping up Tel Aviv's military muscles. It is well known that from 1948 through 1985, Israel has received from the United States, for purposes of wars and plunder, all told more than \$60 billion.

Considering the fact that Israel is continuing to strive for the mastery of nuclear weapons, many international commentators feel that the Middle East conflict is fraught with even greater danger in this regard.

The essence of the ties that bind both countries was exhaustively characterized recently by U.S. Vice-President G. Bush, who declared, in

particular: "Inasmuch as Israel is the only truly democratic country in its region, it is the chief strategic friend of America in the Middle East." Cynically declaring to be an "island of democracy" the country which, together with the United States, has been carrying out a policy of state terrorism, the American administration once again is graphically demonstrating the value of its assertions concerning its alleged impartiality in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this regard a book that is of special interest is one that was received published in Paris -- "The Middle East: A Hundred-Years War," by the progressive French researchers A. Greche and D. Vidal. The book mentions the fact that, as long ago as 1951, the Israeli Prime Minister at that time, Ben Gurion, proposed to Washington the formation of a military alliance. And that proposal, essentially speaking, was accepted by the United States.

In recent years something that has become another substantial aspect of U.S. policy in the Middle East has been the line aimed at the constant and purposeful undermining of Arab unity. Moreover, an important place in this plan is assigned to the course aimed at separate deals between Israel and individual Arab countries. The first of them -- the Camp David deal -- removed Egypt from confrontation with Israel, Egypt being an Arab country of great importance from the point of view of population and its economic potential. Then the United States, without even stopping at the application of military force, forced a separate agreement on Lebanon, although, true, Beirut subsequently denounced it. The United States is attempting also to use the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement for purposes of the further splitting of the Arabs, in order to prevent the consolidation of their forces. Recently Washington gave a crude ultimatum to Jordan, demanding its unconditional support of the U.S. course aimed at the conducting of separate negotiations between Israel and its neighbors. Someone who also spoke out in favor of it was Washington envoy R. Murphy in a course of a recent trip through the Middle East countries.

It is completely obvious that any agreements within the confines of all kinds of behind-the-scene maneuverings pursue just one goal: the prevention of the job of Middle East settlement, and the deepening of the split in the Arab ranks. It has also been noted that every new round of the American "peace-making" is reinforced by military pressure and by CIA intrigues. The London SOUTH magazine recently wrote, "Secret CIA operations have taken on the nature of large-scale wars, including in the Middle East region."

It is necessary to emphasize that the military-strategic interaction between the United States and Israel has been manifesting itself more and more noticeably in the practical situation in recent times. The landing of American troops in 1982 in Lebanon in support of the aggressor, the aiding and abetting of Israel in the course of the bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunis, and the same joint military maneuvers off the Arab shores -- all these are links in the coordinated strategy of Washington and Tel Aviv. The attempt is being made to intimidate the Arabs by means of the double military fist, to force them to capitulate, to agree to the American-Israeli terms for regulating the Middle East and thus to clear the path for the establishment of Zionist-American dominance in the region.

In this regard I recall my conversation with General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, Me'ir Vilner, who expressed his extremely clear judgment on this score: "Closely linked with the U.S. military-industrial complex, Israel is conducting an aggressive colonial policy and occupying Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese land. Together with Washington, Tel Aviv is hampering the settlement of the Middle East conflict and the establishment of an all-encompassing, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East." This is an apt characterization of the hypocritical statements issued on the other side of the ocean concerning the "self-interestedness" of the United States in settling "regional conflicts!"

Contrasting sharply with the actions of the United States and Israel in the Middle East is the Middle East policy of the Soviet Union, which does not seek there any privileges that infringe on the sovereignty and dignity of the Arab nations, does not covet military bases, and does not hanker after the natural wealth of that region. Since the very beginning of the conflict, the Soviet Union has been conducting a precise and clear policy that lies in the assumption that it is necessary to put an end to Israeli aggression, to guarantee the security of all the countries in that region, and to achieve the carrying out of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian nation to its self-determination and the creation of its own independent state.

As is well known, the Soviet Union has frequently come forward with detailed recommendations for Middle East settlement. They have found broad support in the Arab countries, in many of the developing countries, and among the sober-minded politicians in the West. There has also been approval of the instrument for the implementation of those principles -- the convoking of an international conference on the Middle East.

The position of the USSR indicates the way out of the Middle East blind alley. It can be found only by means of the collective peaceful efforts with the participation of all the interested sides. Only then will peace come to the long-suffering bloodstained land.

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CSO: 1807/121

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

USSR REMINDS IRAN OF SUPPORT, CONTRACTS U.S. STAND

NC121209 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 11 Feb 86

[Vera Lebedeva commentary]

[Text] Iran is celebrating the anniversary of its revolution. It was on 11 February, 7 years ago, that the regime of the shah, the U.S. puppet, was overthrown. The victory of the people's uprising was the first stage in paving the way for the country's progress toward the consolidation of national independence and social progress.

It should be pointed out that, from the earliest days of the anti-shah revolution, our country supported the people of Iran in their uprising, and gave them effective help. When in the fall of 1978 the imperialists prepared for an armed intervention in Iran in order to save the shah's regime, which they (?supported), the Soviet Union categorically announced that foreign intervention in Iran's affairs, in any form and on any pretext, was impermissible. This serious warning by Moscow was heard by the world at a sensitive moment in Iran's revolution, when it was not yet clear what the outcome would be. The shah's shameful flight from Iran and Ayatollah Khomeyni's return to the country, the ending of foreign rule, the dissolution of SAVAK, the supreme council's decision on the army's impartiality, and the 11 February victory were all still to come. At that time, in the fall of 1978, Iran's domestic and foreign enemies still hoped to thwart the revolution and preserve the monarchy in your country. However, this plan could not have been implemented without armed intervention. Thus, it is evident that we cannot measure the importance at that time of the Soviet Government's warning on the impermissibility of armed intervention in Iran. This warning frustrated plans made on the other side of the ocean and prevented an armed intervention.

The shah's overthrow created favorable conditions for the consolidation of goodneighborliness, and the expansion of cooperation between the two countries in various fields. I wish to recall that in Iran more than 100 industrial units have been built, or are under construction, with Soviet assistance. The Esfahan steel mill, which was the first unit of the national steel industry, the Arak machinebuilding plant, the hydroelectric project on the Aras river, and the Ahvaz thermal power plant--the largest such plant anywhere in the Near East--are among these industrial units. In the period

after the revolution the volume of Iranian cargo transited through Soviet territory trebled. Our dear listeners know that the transportation of cargo via Soviet territory helped, to a great extent, to thwart plans for an economic siege of Iran and to enable economic conditions in your country to return to normal.

The recent visit by Georgiy Korniyenko, USSR first deputy foreign minister, to your country is another proof of the USSR's unchanging attitude toward goodneighborliness and cooperation with Iran. During this visit our two countries discussed problems pertaining to Soviet-Iranian relations and studied various matters of joint interest.

Dear friends, I should point out that the desire for goodneighborliness and cooperation should be expressed by both sides, otherwise it is meaningless. Unfortunately, there are forces in Iran that have forgotten the fact that the Soviet Union always supports the Iranian people's liberation struggles. They have forgotten that our country supported the Iranian people's struggle during the antimonarchical revolution, too. The enemies of Soviet-Iranian good-neighborly relations slander the Soviet Union and try to equate the policy toward Iran of our socialist country with that of the U.S. imperialists. It is necessary to point out that the Soviet Union and the United States have completely differing stands on Iran.

Dear friends, judge for yourselves. The Soviet Union has always respected Iran's sovereignty. It never interferes in Iran's affairs. However, the United States is constantly trying to bring pressure to bear on Iran and it sometimes threatens it with an economic siege or with armed intervention. The Soviet Union assists Iran in ensuring the development of an independent national economy. But the U.S. imperialists have done their best to prevent the growth of an independent economy in your country. During the antimonarchical revolution the Soviet Union expressed its support for the ideals and the rights of the Iranian people in their uprising. The U.S. imperialists, however, helped the shah to crush the revolutionaries.

Let us also discuss attitudes to the Iran-Iraq war. I have often read in the Tehran newspapers that the U.S. imperialists were involved in sparking of the war between the two Islamic neighbors, and that they are now trying to prevent the tension from easing. But the Soviet Union considers the Iran-Iraq war to be completely meaningless and tragic and would like to see an immediate end to it.

Therefore, two disparate policies--that of the Soviet Union, based on goodneighborliness toward your country, and the anti-Iranian stance of the U.S. imperialists--cannot be compared. The lessons taught by history, and more particularly, by the antimonarchical revolution, prove this point.

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CSO: 4640/212

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PROBLEMS FACING EGYPT UNDER MUBAREK REGIME ENUMERATED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 4, 17-23 Jan 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Pavel Yepifanovich Demchenko, born 1924, international journalist, member of the PRAVDA editorial staff section on developing countries: "Egypt Yesterday and Today"; first paragraph is ZA RUBEZHOM introduction]

[Excerpts] The years of rule of President Anwar Sadat had a grave impact both on the internal situation in Egypt and on the country's international authority. This mightiest country in the Arab East turned out to be isolated in the Arab world. The Egyptian economy experienced the consequences of the "open door" policy proclaimed by the former president, as a result of which the young Egyptian industry had to withstand fierce competition from the Western monopolies, especially American. The new Egyptian government is attempting to solve the problems which it inherited. It is seeking to expand ties and contacts with the Arab countries and to pay more attention to improving the economy. But it is encountering numerous difficulties.

Cairo and Its Residents

In recent years this city has become absolutely immense; it has expanded for many kilometers on all sides. To the south it extended to the well-known pyramids of Cheops, Chefren and Mikerin, and on the other end it swallowed up the suburban settlement of Geliopolis. Besides its horizontal growth, the vertical architecture aspiring upward along the banks of the Nile has been still more clearly marked. There are now dozens of 30-40 story buildings. These are mainly business centers, where offices of major Egyptian and foreign firms and banks, as well as splendid hotels, built by such world famous companies as Hilton, Sheraton and Meridian are concentrated. Ten years ago there were only two hotels in Cairo which were rated as luxury category (five stars) by Western standards. Now there are more than 30. At times they are erected on the border with slum districts, thereby visibly demonstrating that poverty and wealth exist side by side in this city, as, by the way, they do throughout the country.

In the past 10 years the population of the capital has nearly doubled. According to data from the local municipality it has already exceeded 11.5 million people, not taking into account suburbs and environs, which are another 2-2.5 million. If this tumultuous growth cannot at least be slowed

(no one even dreams of stopping it), by the end of the century Cairo will have approximately 20 million residents. Fearing paralysis of utilities, the authorities decided to declare the capital a "closed city," and develop a program of various kinds of restrictions, including mandatory registrations, a strict system for accepting children into schools, resettling persons without definite occupations, etc. But even if this program is implemented, the number of residents of Cairo in 15 years will still top 16 million.

### In Two Measures

What are the concerns of Cairo residents today and what are their lives like? One must not answer these questions with the stock phrase: they live in different ways and have various concerns. For although this phrase is indisputable it does not give the slightest impression about the changes which have occurred in the country or about the problems which arose in recent years. And there are a multitude of problems. One is confronted with them every step of the way.

Take, for example, the paradox of prices. According to UN data, Egypt is now considered one of the most "costly" countries in the developing world. How does this look in practice? To start, let us drop into a store, the sign at which indicates that it is a cooperative store, but which is in essence a state store. There are many people, but there are a sufficient number of basic products -- rice, kidney beans, sugar, tea, vegetable oil and eggs -- and the prices are rather low.

However, let us not jump to conclusions. Let us also ask the price of meat, fish, shoes and cloth. It is here that the conclusion made by the UN should be recalled. Egypt is a country with an extremely high cost of living. There is no need to even talk about transistors, radio receivers, televisions, refrigerators or automobiles. The prices for these articles are incredible, as are many types of services, housing, etc. By the way, the number of luxury stores with an abundance of mostly imported goods, where prices seem to be wildly inflated, has increased in the same proportion as have the number of "luxury" hotels.

Now the first conclusion can be drawn. Part of the Egyptian market is strictly controlled by the government, and on the other part the capitalist element of free enterprise reigns. Trade in the country is accomplished as if on two levels, and the gap in prices is striking.

Agriculture is currently providing about half of the products required by the population. According to data from the Ministry of Supply and Domestic Trade, Egypt imports almost 75 percent of the grain consumed in the country, half of the sugar, butter and other fats, a quarter of the meat, a third of the fish and almost all of the milk, and the situation is continuing to worsen. And the reason for this is another seemingly paradoxical phenomenon. Despite the fact that the assault on the desert is rather intensive and that more and more fertilizer, machinery and select seeds are being used on the fields, the amount of cultivated land per resident is continuing to decline, as also is the amount of his homegrown food. This is not only a matter of the rapid growth of the country's population, which is already approaching 50 million.

The development of new lands is simply not keeping pace with processes which are leading to exactly the opposite results -- to a reduction in arable fields. For example, the rapidly growing cities with their industry, roads and airports are literally sweeping from their paths gardens, orchards and peasant fields, of which there are so few in this desert country. In the Nile Delta alone the annual reduction of arable fields has reached 40,000 feddans (1 feddan = 0.42 hectares). The importance of this figure becomes understandable if one considers that a total of only 6 million feddans are cultivated in Egypt.

The increasing land shortage each year crowds out of the countryside up to 300,000-350,000 people, primarily young people. Along with this the increased demand for products and price increases, especially for meat, industrial crops and fruit is enriching the kulaks [wealthy peasants], who are applying modern agricultural methods. The sale of land for city construction has become extremely profitable. In a little village not far from the Giza pyramids I was told how all of its residents, even those with small kitchen gardens, on one fine day turned into near millionaires. But middlemen who have bought up sections from the Fellahin and then resold them to construction firms earned still more. Regarding this, the most scandalous revelations concerning corruption had to do with land speculation. And growing wheat is considered unprofitable due to low purchase prices and its production is declining.

This is the situation in the agrarian sector. Egypt is primarily an agricultural country, and this sector governs. This is leading to alarming economic, social and political consequences, which are all interlaced. It is necessary to import from abroad more and more food products and not only to spend for them the lion's share of currency revenues, but also to go into debt. Egypt receives a substantial part of its food, especially grain, from the U. S. on credit, which thus holds levers of pressure on the country and has the capability of playing on this dependence.

Many of the imported products are sold through the state trading network rather cheaply. This is accomplished through governmental subsidies in the amount of several billion Egyptian pounds. Despite recommendations of the International Currency Fund that prices be raised, the Egyptian government has not done this, correctly fearing flare-ups of indignation on the part of the workers. This is all the more true because the events of 1977 are still fresh in the memory. At that time the government reduced subsidies, there was a sharp jump in prices, and in response enterprises in Cairo and Helwan went on strike and clashes broke out in the streets of the capital between the police and indignant demonstrators, who succeeded in breaking through to the buildings of the council of ministers, parliament and the presidential palace. It was necessary to retreat hastily and return to the former order of things.

### The Third President In Power

From the moment of the 1952 July revolution and subsequent elimination of the monarchy there have been three changes of president in the country. First was Nasser, then Sadat, and now Hosni Mubarak is in this post. Egypt's political policy under each of these presidents was marked by important features.



Nasser left a memory of himself as the man who rid the country of British colonization, declared the nationalization of the Suez Canal and all major foreign property holdings and proclaimed the so-called "Socialist Laws." In practice this meant eliminating landlord land tenure, carrying out an agrarian reform, transferring banks and large and middle sized enterprises to the state sector and carrying out a policy of accelerated industrialization of the country. It was during the years of his rule that the High Aswan Dam with a mighty GES [hydroelectric power plant], several metallurgical and machine building factories, and military factories were built, free education at all levels was introduced, and a limited social security system was developed. During those years the Arab Socialist Alliance was created, which cemented the unity of the laboring forces of the people, including the Fellahin, workers, intelligentsia, army and national bourgeoisie, which retained freedom of action within a rather narrow framework. In his foreign policy Nasser was an advocate of a nonaligned policy with close cooperation with the Socialist countries, most of all the Soviet Union.

Nasser died suddenly at the end of 1970 and Sadat, who followed him on the scene, was able, using the slogan of national unity, to restructure the country's policy. In 1978 the so-called Camp David Accords were signed, which tied the country to the U. S. and led a year later to the signing of a "peace treaty" with Israel. Indignant with this policy, almost all of the Arab states broke diplomatic and economic relations with Egypt. Cairo's traditional leadership in the Arab world, which had been considered completely natural under President Nasser, was lost and the national dignity of the Egyptians was humiliated.

It seemed that Sadat was seized with a desire to change everything that had been accomplished under his predecessor. One after another he cancelled the "Socialist laws." Under the pretext of introducing a multi-party system the Arab Socialist Alliance was disbanded. Then the bourgeoisie received great opportunities, especially the middle and comprador [native agents of foreign firms] bourgeoisie, which virtually subordinated the state government to their own ends. As was to be expected attacks against the state sector began. Some enterprises were transferred to private parties, but overall the state sector could not be destroyed. The resistance of the workers, part of the state apparatus and progressive society turned out to be more significant than the authorities has expected.

However, under Sadat the state sector remained a pariah. Other reference points attracted him. He encouraged the "free market," and sought support from the big bourgeoisie and the West, most of all the U. S. By the end of his rule Sadat had turned against himself both left wing and some right wing groupings, the intelligentsia, the Coptic Christians (numbering approximately 5 million people in Egypt) and even orthodox Muslim organizations, which not long before this had already become more active. The dramatic departure of Sadat from the political arena -- he was killed in October 1981 during a military parade by a group of Muslim fanatics -- brought to power the third president of the republic, Mubarak.

The situation he inherited was not an easy one, however, he introduced some adjustments in both foreign and domestic policy. First, more than a thousand

people were freed from prison, including leftist progressive members of the intelligentsia arrested on order of Sadat, limitations on party activity and the press were somewhat eased and relations were established with the Coptic Church. The president began regularly to receive party leaders and prominent figures, and to listen to their opinions on the most critical questions. He made it clearly understood that elimination of the state sector could not even be considered. That sector now provides almost two-thirds of the industrial production and is a basic factor of economic stability. Moreover, an attempt was made to clean up the state apparatus of its most compromised members who were involved in bribery, all the way up to the ministerial level.

All of these steps helped to reduce tension in Egyptian society. However, they did not succeed in eliminating it completely.

#### A New Policy Is Needed

Probably journalists have paid more attention during the past year to the Egypt Air Boeing 737 than to any other civil aircraft. In October it was at the center of attention of the world press when it was attacked by American fighters and forced to land in Sicily. Then the same aircraft was hijacked by terrorists to Malta and after being stormed by Egyptian commandos, during which almost 60 people were killed, it was completely burned up.

I was on the banks of the Nile immediately after the first tragic incident and saw the political consequences which it caused.

I recall first that four hijackers of the Italian passenger ship Achille Lauro and two Palestinians who accompanied them were on board the aircraft. The Egyptian authorities, in order to save the passengers, convinced the hijackers to leave the ship in exchange for a promise to deliver them to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) court in Tunis. President Mubarak agreed to all of this in advance with Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and with the Tunisian leaders. However, the unexpected took place. The Americans forced the Egyptian airliner down at an airport in Sicily and then, not disregarding the fact that they were on Italian territory, tried to seize both the Achille Lauro hijackers themselves and the Palestinians accompanying them. The incident almost came to shooting between the American commandos and the Italian detachment defending the airfield.

The arbitrary action committed toward an Egyptian civil aircraft shocked the Egyptians. "I am very insulted," stated Egyptian President Mubarak. "This is a very serious incident which is an unheard of violation of the norms of international law." Such sharp words toward Washington from the Egyptian leader were heard for the first time since the so-called Camp David Accords were signed in 1978. Also for the first time five opposition parties, including the bourgeois New Wafd Party and the National Progressive Unionist Grouping (leftist) Party succeeded in working out a joint statement condemning the attack on the aircraft. "Overseas, apparently, they believe" wrote the EGYPTIAN GAZETTE, "that the financial assistance provided to Cairo gives the U. S. the right to ignore international norms and commit lawlessness and arbitrariness."

Students and young people reacted to the events in their own way. After noisy meetings at Cairo University they moved to the center of the city, shouting slogans and distributing leaflets which demanded rejection of the Camp David Accords and breaking relations with the U. S. and Israel. The Minister of the Interior brought in several hundred police, who used tear gas and clubs to disperse the demonstrators.

Thus, under conditions of a sharp anti-American flare-up, the authorities showed that they wanted to keep the crisis which had arisen in relations with Washington within only a diplomatic framework, and that activation of popular forces in no way suited them. "The conflict which has arisen must not lead relations between the two countries into a blind alley," hurriedly stated the pro-government newspaper AL AHRAM.

And then when in November the aerial pirates seized the same aircraft and landed it in Valletta, Cairo let it be known that the conflict with Washington would be put on the back burner. They appealed to the Americans to send "anti-terrorism experts." Again Egypt's dependence on American "assistance" worked. In concrete figures it looks as follows: Washington's military deliveries are assessed at \$1.2 billion per year and credits and subsidies for economic purposes at \$815 million. Out of almost 7 million tons of wheat, flour and corn imported by Egypt in 1984, 3.8 million tons were delivered from the U. S.

I was told in Cairo that regional problems are one of those spheres where American and Egyptian interests diverge. The positions of the two countries are different in their approaches to the Palestinian and Lebanese problems and to a Middle East settlement as a whole. For example, Washington pushes the Egyptians to develop relations with Israel, which now have been reduced to a minimum. At the same time it is known that the Egyptian economy simply cannot function normally without close ties with the Arab world, where the country's excess work force can be used and where the natural markets for Egyptian industry are located.

President Mubarak has made numerous efforts to improve relations with Jordan, and then with Iraq. Iraq's protracted war with Iran caused a need there for workers in industry, agriculture, the services sphere, as well as for various goods and equipment needed by the population and army. Egypt offered its services and cooperation began. Although precise data does not exist (I was given different figures in Cairo and Baghdad), one can speak about many hundreds of thousands of Egyptians who have gone to Iraq for work.

The Egyptians in general are excellent workers. The hard working nature of the Fellahin and artisans has become legendary. They are strong in the services sphere and construction, are good organizers and quickly learn new professions. The opportunities opened up in this regard during the time of President Nasser were used by millions of people. The first countries where, back in the 1950's, Egyptian specialists began to be attracted were the Sudan and Saudi Arabia. In Lebanon, especially after the revolutionary uprising and overthrow of the monarchy in 1969, both members of the Egyptian intelligentsia (teachers, journalists and engineers), and Fellahin to work the fields and harvest crops (up to 300,000 people per year), began to be brought in. The

oil boom in the Persian Gulf countries caused a need for Egyptian work force almost everywhere in the region. It is believed that in some years up to three million Egyptians were located abroad. Their monetary transfers of free currency at times exceeded Egypt's income from the export of oil, operation of the Suez Canal and tourism, reaching \$5 billion.

Of course, such a massive departure of skilled cadres, although it also solved certain social tasks, has negative consequences for national production and especially for public health services. It is no accident that the press is sounding the alarm on this matter. But I believe that Cairo is even more alarmed about the reduced foreign demand for Egyptian workers, Fellahin and office and professional workers. There are several reasons for this: the decline of oil fever in the Persian Gulf countries, a new aggravation of relations with Libya and several other reasons. Only a few became rich abroad and returned, as they say here, in Mercedes. The majority require work in their homeland, which is not easy to find, and for which the pay is much lower.

Overall it can be said that Egypt has opened a window to the Arab countries. However, its ruling circles count on occupying their former place in the inter-Arab political arena, while preserving the Camp David Accords and the "peace treaty" with Israel. This position is considered unacceptable to many Arabs, most of all to Syria, Libya and the PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. They blame Egypt for collusion with the U. S. and veto her return to the Arab League.

The meetings which I had with representatives of different political trends in Cairo and my impressions about current Egyptian realities justify a conclusion that the country is now at a historic crossroads. Various trends in its social life are colliding. Although there have been many changes since the Sadat period, both in domestic life and foreign policy, the burden of that time is rather large. At the same time, influential strata of the national bourgeoisie are expressing unhappiness with the present dependence on the U. S. and are fighting for greater reliance on their own forces and opportunities in domestic affairs and a return to a more balanced policy in the international arena. The left opposition is calling for a total break with the Camp David Accords.

In short, the situation in the country is rather complex. This, it seems to me, is reflected at a curious stand located on one of the central Cairo squares, which has the portraits of all three presidents set up. The composition itself is symbolic. Nasser and Sadat are standing with their backs to one another. Mubarak is looking straight ahead. So also there are intertwined traces of past eras in the policy of present day Egypt, and at the same time an attempt is being made to look to the future.

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CSO: 1807/175

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF USSR-SAUDI ARABIA RELATIONS URGED

LD152225 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 15 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS--TASS Commentator Viktor Lebedev writes:

Old people in Arabia remember the time when their dwellings were illuminated and heated by "Russian" kerosene. Today it might seem incredible to the younger generation of the Arabian peninsula which has grown up in condition of the oil boom that long ago, in the 20s, that were the years of poverty both for Bedouins and for the urban population, the young Soviet republic delivered to residents of the peninsula kerosene and many other goods. Moreover, it rendered important moral and political support in the struggle for independence and the consolidation of the state system.

On February 16, 1926, the Soviet Union was the first to recognize in an official note the Saudi state that had been created in the course of a difficult unification struggle, in spite of the opposition and intrigues of British imperialism.

Saudi King 'Abd al-Aziz 'Abd al-Rahman al-Faysal ibn Sa'ud who was a wise and far-sighted politician paid no heed to those who tried to intimidate him with some "red threat" and boldly accepted the helping hand extended to him from Moscow. Two days after receiving the note he expressed to the Soviet Government his gratitude and the readiness to establish relations with the USSR Government characteristic of friendly states.

Crown Prince Faysal who later became the king of Saudi Arabia visited Moscow in 1932 and was accorded a cordial welcome. Talks in the Soviet capital were held in an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation.

On the eve of World War II the exchange of diplomatic missions between the two countries was left without further continuation, but relations between them were maintained. The two countries exchanged views on topical problems. Guests from Saudi Arabia visited Moscow.

The contacts were evidence of the similarity of views on the major problems of today, primarily, on the problem of war and peace and on the Arab problems. The Saudi leaders supported Soviet peace initiatives.

In 1958 the head of the Saudi Government Faysal spoke out in favour of the proposal of the Soviet Government on the banning of tests and of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The visit last year to the USSR of a sports delegation headed by the chairman of the Supreme Council for the Affairs of the Youth Prince Faysal ibn Fahd Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was a success. Cooperation in the sphere of physical culture and sports is expected to develop.

The Soviet Union has no controversial problems with Saudi Arabia, and nothing prevents the two countries from developing their relations. Moreover, the complicated nature of the international situation, the aggravation of the Middle East conflict through the fault of Israel and the growing tension in the Persian Gulf area call for the activization of relations and the pooling of efforts for the sake of preserving peace and security on Earth, for the sake of preventing a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia can do a great deal if they act jointly in settling the Middle East conflict.

There is no doubt that the development of relations between the USSR and Saudi Arabia would benefit both states.

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CSO: 1812/85

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

CREATION, GOALS OF SOUTH ASIAN COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION HAILED

Association Described

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent, V. Korobikov, in Delhi: "What is SAARC? We Answer a Reader"]

[Excerpts] On December 8 in Dacca, capital of Bangladesh, a new organization was established--the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). It was formed by seven neighboring states: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and the Maldives Republic. Besides geographic proximity, the participants in the new association have much in common in their historical past and in their culture.

Preparations for establishment of the new regional organization began in 1980, and the first meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the seven countries took place in August 1983 in Delhi. A declaration on South Asian regional cooperation was adopted. After that several more meetings took place. The conclusion of these negotiations was the December summit meeting in Dacca and the establishment of SAARC.

The goal of the association was announced to be promotion of the economic and cultural development and social progress of the peoples of the region by means of multilateral collaboration and cooperation among its members on the basis of equality of rights and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. Summit meetings will take place every year. The next is planned to be held in Delhi in November of 1986. A council of ministers of SAARC was established at the level of the ministers of foreign affairs, and also various committees were formed to examine concrete plans for cooperation.

There are many real problems for them to solve jointly in the general interests of the region. The common concerns of the seven include the struggle against poverty, disease, and slums. All members of the association have to solve similar problems in the areas of health and education. Economic collaboration can lighten absolute expenditures, open new possibilities for marketing of goods, and help avoid mutual competition and oppose the cataclysms of the world capitalist market more successfully. The first

27 March 1986

concrete plans of action have already been worked out. Thus a joint weather service will make it possible to determine more precisely the onset and end of the rainy seasons. A whole complex of problems is connected with the improvement and development of the transport network on the subcontinent.

In India it is well understood that realization of the plans of SAARC will to a great extent be connected with the character of the political climate both worldwide and in the region. The declaration adopted in Dacca directly demands cessation of the arms race and a ban on nuclear weapons. And a logical consequence of the aspiration of the members of the new organization to achieve the planned goals must be a struggle for disarmament and for normalization of the international situation. If all participants in the association will, like India, for instance, follow this course not in words but in deeds, then the collaboration of the seven states in South Asia will serve the welfare of their peoples and will become an important factor of peace in Asia and in the Indian Ocean.

#### Political, Socioeconomic Tasks

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by M. Maksimov: "SAARC: Goals and Tasks."]

[Excerpt] A meeting of the heads of state and government of seven countries of South Asia--Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives Republic, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka--took place on December 7-8 in Dacca in the National Assembly building. Its participants officially announced the founding of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Concluding declarations and the Association's charter were adopted, and a SAARC council of ministers, a secretariat, and a number of other working organs were founded.

As early as 1980, Bangladesh came forward as the initiator of the organization's establishment. However, it took five years of conferences and consultations on various levels, including the level of ministers of foreign affairs, for the meeting in Dacca to become possible. India made a large contribution to its preparation. In this regard, the recent visits and negotiations of Prime Minister R. Gandhi with leaders of a number of South Asian states were important. Political observers point out that during his period in office as head of the Indian government the republic's authority in the region has risen. This has been facilitated by India's active position, as a leader of the nonaligned movement, on present-day international questions and its devotion to the cause of peace and international security, and to the normalization and strengthening of cooperation with neighboring states.

The objective preconditions for the establishment of SAARC were laid down by the common character of the historical development, geographical



situation, and fundamental, above all economic, problems of the region's countries. The association proclaimed as its main task to ensure the economic and social progress of the member countries by means of optimal use of their human and material resources. Normalization of regional cooperation undoubtedly would facilitate realization, within the framework of SAARC, of development programs in such important areas as agriculture, public health, and science and technology. Economic and trade cooperation acquires special significance given the Western developed countries' increasingly severe protectionist policies.

At the same time it should be emphasized that the forms and measures of regional collaboration in the final analysis will be determined by the political atmosphere in the region. The association's goals can be realized only under conditions of peace and security. The adopted declaration speaks of this directly. In this context the heads of state and government welcomed the recent Soviet-American meeting in Geneva and expressed hope that its results will exert a positive influence on the relaxation of general international tensions, particularly in South Asia.

13049/12858  
CSO: 1807/135

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, U.S. AID ASSAILED

MB070520 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Vladimir Voyevodov commentary]

[Text] Ten years ago, on 5 February 1976, the South African parliament passed a bill concerning the security of that country. The provisions of this bill are such that South Africa may use whatever means at its disposal against any country if the South African regime feels threatened. Let us now listen to a commentary prepared by Vladimir Voyevodov on this issue.

Ten years ago, the racists changed tactics following victories in the liberation struggles in Angolan and Mozambique where the chains of oppression were broken and the oppressive Portuguese regimes sent packing. The independent African countries posed a threat to the regime's ability to continue the suppression of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. A bill was therefore hurriedly approved to further strengthen the security of South Africa and in so doing it provided for aggression against its neighbors.

The racists have caused extensive damage in their undeclared war in Angola, but they did not stop there. They are committing aggression against their independent neighbors like Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, and others. In order for the regime to continue its repression in South Africa, there is a need for more modern weaponry, which is used increasingly with the help of the West, particularly the United States.

Even though the UN Security Council passed a resolution imposing sanctions on the provision of arms to South Africa in November 1977, the consignments from the West have increased. The regime has also greatly increased its armament industry, again with the help of the West. South Africa's armament industry, the Armaments Development Corporation of South Africa today manufactures some Western weapons under license and even exports some overseas. All this has helped South Africa to be among the top ten best armed nations in the world.

Today South Africa poses a threat not only to the African continent, but to the whole world. The great danger is that the racists are plotting to acquire weaponry that can annihilate large numbers of people, chemical, biological, nuclear weapons. There is growing opportunity for South Africa to attain

nuclear capability because of the United States. South Africa is one of the countries that refrained from signing an agreement against use of nuclear weaponry. Lately there has been growing talk in Africa of the presence of biological weapons in South Africa that can discriminate on the basis of race. These are meant to selectively kill the black race and leave out the white race. Such diabolical weapons are being researched and manufactured with the aid of the United States.

On many occasions, those advocating apartheid have bragged to Africa and the international community that they are prepared to defend their racist policies and are willing to spill as much blood as will be necessary to maintain them.

The South African regime has become a threat to world peace. Therefore, the onus is on all humanity to work towards its downfall to preserve peace.

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CSO: 1812/84

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